Regd. No. L.-

ان الدين عند الله الاسلام

The REVIEW of RELIGIONS

Editor—A. Q. Niaz, B.A.

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نحمدہٗ ونصلی علیٰ رسولہ الکریم

THE CRISIS OVER KHILAFAT

Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I, treated Hazrat Mian Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad with great love, high esteem and deep respect. But there were people at Qadian in whose eyes Mian Sahib was no more than an ordinary young man, or rather a young man, whom the accident of birth had put in a position that he really did not deserve. It was evident to them that he had not the capabilities of even a man of ordinary intelligence. Had he not left the school without as much as a Matriculation Certificate to his credit? What greater proof was required to show that he was only a worthless sort of young man with no promise in him of anything greater? Of course he was the Son of the Promised Messiah, but that was all.

These men who regarded Mian Sahib in this light were themselves capable and worthy and well educated, men who were competent judges of a man's ability. They occupied positions, moreover, where, without being guilty of undue pride, they thought they were rather justified in looking upon themselves as being the "Pillars of Society." The weight of responsibility for proper conduct of the affairs of the Community was on their shoulders; and it was they who toiled day and night: yet, in the eyes of the Khalifa the dull and

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sense of danger gave them cohesion; and the dire need of the movment gave them programme. Membership of this Anjuman increased, its scope of influence began to expand, and soon it rose like a sudden wall between the Ahmadiyya Community and the point of fusion with non-Ahmadiyyat to which Kh. Kamal-ud-Din and his friends were carefully leading it. The Ansarullah was doing splendid work but it was sadly handicapped by the lack of an organ by means of which it could reach a wider circle of sympathisers than was possible by word of mouth. The need was pressing and once more the "boy"—that selfsame never-do-well who had not even a Matriculation Certificate to his credit—rose to the occasion like a man. He staked every penny he could raise, even the jewelry of his wife, and started a weekly newspaper for which the name of *Alfazl* was chosen by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., who had approved of the venture and given to it his blessings.

"Memory of days gone by" again gives us a rare peep into the mind of Hazrat Mian Sahib when he took this great financial risk. He writes:—

"After this came the year 1913. Thelife-giving days of the Promised Messiah were receding into the distance and a kind of rust which had laid its hold upon certain minds began to be felt. It looked as though the Movement were crumbling to pieces. The present was distressing and dark but the future seemed darker and more full of peril. The hearts of many had given way and there were those who began to despair. The silent vow I had taken up on the death of the Promised Messiah prompted me to keep my resolution high, but apart from that I was helpless.

"The colmuns of *The Badr* were closed to us on account of the policy pursued by that paper. *The Alhakam*, in the first place, was practically non-existent, as all that it could manage to do was to come out now and then; secondly, even when it

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did come out, it had a directness of approach and a way of saying things which made it unpopular with the powers that be. *The Review of Religions* (of which journal Maulvi Mohammad Ali was the editor) was so far removed from us that we could never dream of using it to further our aims. And I had no money. There was my life which I could offer and my hands which I could work to the bone, but I was helpless to produce the thing I did not possess. The dire need of the Community was for a newspaper to rouse it, to charge it with electricity, to shake it into life, to make it pitch its aims high. But no such paper existed, and to wish for one was like wishing for the moon: neither one was possible nor the other. However, my anguish of mind bore fruit and a gleam of hope showed itself."

Thus with financial backing from Hazrat Ummul-Momineen, his own wife and Khan Mohammad Ali Khan, Hazrat Mian Sahib launched his weekly which, as a journal, was an unqualified success from the moment of its birth. The policy and the aim of *The Alfazl* was the spirit of the vow Hazrat Mian Sahib had taken on the death of the Promised Messiah. That was a stupendous vow and he took it when he was only an inexperienced youth. He took it, too, when he was under the stress of an unusual emotion. But all through his subsequent life he has shown that he took that leap knowing full well what lay at the end of it, and never turned back or let his purpose be weakened by difficulties.

The work which *The Alfazl* assumed was, in its own words, "to clarify the position of the Promised Messiah; to impress upon the Community that he alone was its master and guide, the importance of whose mission could not be minimised without depriving Ahmadiyyat and Islam of all that was alive[1] in it."

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1. *The Alfazl*, April 8, 1914.

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"The Paigham-i-Sulh" of Lahore

The first number of *The Alfazl* came out on June 18, 1913. About a couple of weeks or so prior to this date there was started in Lahore a paper called *The Paigham-i-Sulh.* This paper was started with capital contributed by a number of gentlemen interested in the aim which the paper proposed to further.[1] These gentlemen were Ahmadies belonging to the select circle of intimate friends of Kh. Kamal-ud-Din and Maulvi Mohammad Ali. It was thus, in fact, an Ahmady organ, and naturally one would expect that its aim would be the propagation of the Ahmadiyya point of view. But that was not the case. In the first place the proprietors took considerable pains to keep the fact of their Ahmadiyyat as much in the background as possible. The aims and objects as recounted on the title page of each issue of the paper for a number of months were as follows :—

1. To strive for the maintenance of law and order in the land.

2. To preach loyalty to the Government.

3. *To create unity among Muslims for the purpose of propagating the Faith and for raising aloft the Word of God.*

4. To answer and refute objections raised against Islam and to present that religion to the world.

5. *To remove misunderstandings generally prevalent in regard to the Ahmadiyya Community and to make clear the position of the Promised Messiah.*

6. To present to the world the model set before us by the Holy Prophet Mohammad through the pure exemplary life he lived himself.

7. To discuss political, social and moral problems in the light of Islam.

8. And to serve Indian and foreign news to its readers.

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1. *The Paigham-i-Sulha,* July 10, 1913.

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A close scrutiny of these aims, coupled with the policy the paper has followed, reveals that the main, rather its only aim was to strive for unity among Muslims on the basis of a combined effort for the propagation of Islam. *Propagation of Ahmadiyyat was not aimed at.* Its only concern with the Ahmadiyya point of view was to be the *removal of certain prevailing misunderstandings with regard to it.*

A very interesting feature in this connection is an article contributed by Maulvi Mohammad Ali, in its issue of July 12, 1913, of which the motive, after a long introduction, comes out in the last paragraph. Here Maulvi Mohammad Ali speaks of a *Paigham-i-Sulh Society* formed by the Muslims of Lahore. The Proprietors of the *Paigham-i-Sulh* began, thus, by merging themselves, as far as they were concerned anyway, into the "Muslims of Lahore". Whether or not the Lahore Muslims had actually done them the honour of absorbing them is beside the point. What matters is the fact that proprietors of the *Paigham-i-Sulh* said so and that, in any case, is an index to the secret hope and desire of their hearts.

It is not necessary here to go into a detailed examination of the contents of the first volume prior to the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Mesih I. Suffice it to say that it is fascinating work to trace out, through its columns, the passionate desire for applause and financial support from the non-Ahmady Muslim world. A monkey on a greased pole cannot maintain its position however hard it may try, and in this case even the will to do so was lacking. The obsession possessed the *Paigham-i-Sulh* to the extent of excluding Ahmad's message altogether from its pages.

Kh. Kamal-ud-Din's weakness for applause was so great that to win it from non-Muslims he did not scruple to deny a point of cardinal importance in Islam—the pre-eminence of the Holy Prophet Mohammad in relation to other prophets. Some

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one in Europe once wrote to him to say that after a long struggle they were now coming to see that Jesus was in no way unique, but only a bearer of a Divine Message like any other prophet. Then he asked Khwaja Sahib why he was arresting this progress toward a saner point of view by preaching that Mohammad was greater than all other prophets. In answer to this Khwaja Sahib hastened to write that all prophets were equal.[1]

By this time Kh. Kamal-ud-Din had been in England for nigh on a year and there he had conceived the idea of establishing his mission headquarters in the Mosque at Woking, which was controlled by a trust with Muslim members on its board. Already inclined as he was to minimise the importance of Ahmad in the regeneration of Islam, his desire to see himself established in the Woking Mosque as a Champion of Islam, acclaimed by the entire Muslim world, definitely sealed his fate. Ahmad henceforth became in his eyes no more than a Mujaddid like many others that had gone before—in fact, even of lesser significance. Now that Kh. Kamal-ud-Din and his handful of worthy friends had imbibed from Ahmad what he had to say, there was no need at all to refer to him anymore. Kh. Kamal-ud-Din could now very well carry on to completion the work of regenerating the Muslim world. To mention any sectarian views in the Western countries was to repel those people from Islam. Ahmadiyyat could not be mentioned because really, after all, it was but a sectarian view.

The Paigham-i-Sulh took up the burden of Khwaja Sahib's song with a will, and from the date of its issue it devoted itself heart and soul to the task of explaining to the world that his wonderful effort in London had no connection with Ahmadiyyat; that it was an *Islami* Mission.[2]

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1. *Paigham-i-Sulh*, Sept. 14, 1913.
2. *The Paigham-i-Sulh*, November 18, 1913. This is to give only one instance; otherwise this was the spirit and the drift of its entire propaganda.

Apart from acting as a publicity organ for Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, *The Paigham-i-Sulh* was also big with another idea, another ambition which it could hardly contain, but which could not be gratified until some suitable opportunity offered itself. This ambition was to passionately identify itself with some popular cause of Indian Muslims. In this matter the fates played in favour of the *Paigham* and soon there occurred the kind of opportunity that the paper was dying to have. This was the trouble that arose in Cawnpore. After the Police had resorted to firing the *Paigham* in its eagerness, ridiculously overshot itself. At once it went all out in defence of the crowd that was fired upon, but a responsible committee of Cawnpore Muslims themselves admitted and condemned the stubborn and unruly behaviour of that crowd.[1]

The Cawnpore Mosque incident is, moreover, a link in the chain of evidence which goes to show that the Lahore group did not scruple to disregard the express wishes and instructions of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I. As a matter of fact they displayed a lack of moral principle reprehensible in any one with pretentions to common honesty, and doubly so in men of their position. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was approached by them to get his views on the incident and he gave them to understand, in writing, that he considered both the crowd that was fired upon as well as the Government Officials concerned to have pursued an unjust course.[2]

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1. *The Alfazl*, October, 22, 1913.
2. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's disapproval of the policy followed by the crowd that was fired upon is clearly conveyed in these words: "The Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, silently suffered persecution in Mecca for thirteen years. Samiyya was barbarously put to death and Zunnaira and Yasir (to name only a few). At last the Holy Prophet had to advise his followers to leave Mecca and had to migrate to Medina himself. This is my view in the matter.....

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But *The Paigham-i-Sulh* ignored Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's condemnation of the unruly crowd and proceeded to defend it, while it denounced the Police and the City Magistrates concerned in the firing.

The messenger of *The Paigham-i-Sulh* who came to get an indication of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's point of view was sent, it seems, primed up to influence Hazrat Khalifatul Masih to obtain a ruling confirming the policy of making common cause with the popular agitation. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's words establish this fact beyond any reasonable doubt. He wrote: "As for *The Paisa Akhbar* or *Ahl-i-Hadith*, or the like of them, they have bitterly opposed the Ahmadiyya Movement all along; but when did they succeed in doing any injury to us that we should be afraid of them now."[1]

These words show that the messenger tried to make Hazrat Khalifatul Masih alter his original view on the ground that the Muslim Press would be enraged if the Ahmadiyya Press differed from popular public feeling over the matter. This written message of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was published in *The Paigham-i-Sulh* of August 10, but it was given a colour contrary to its real purpose and *The Paigham-i-Sulh* passionately identified itself with the popular cause[2]; and it continued to write in that strain until the bottom was knocked out of its policy when a responsible Committee of Cawnpore Muslims denounced the unruly action taken by the crowd that was fired upon to disperse it.

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1. *The Paigham-i-Sulh*, August, 10, 1913.

2. *The Paigham-i-Sulh*, August, 12, 1913 and a number of subsequent issues.

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Nature and Causes of the Crisis

Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din Khalifatul Masih I., breathed his last on Friday the 13th of March 1914. (May God rest his soul and shower His choicest blessings upon him). After his death the Ahmadiyya Community split up into two parts; by far the major portion of the Community accepted Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad as Khalifatul Masih II., and took Bai'at at his hand, while a small minority (which has, since been continually on the decrease) did not accept him as Khalifa and stood aloof from the main body of the Community. Why this small minority chose to break away from the parent stock and on what grounds it took its stand is the object of this study to find out.

As will be easily realized, clear comprehension of the nature and causes of tendencies and movements in the history of any given group of humanity necessitates a somewhat close study of the circumstances and environment in which that community lives its life, and of the personal inclinations and characteristics of such individuals as may have been prominent in the life of the Community at the time when those tendencies and movements began to manifest themselves.

From the first moment of taking his stand on this axiom the investgator is enabled to lay bare for examination the freak vein which at one time in the history of the Community tended so violently to assert itself that for some time it seriously threatened to change the very grain of the young growing timber in which it had come to be lodged.

In order to obtain the first pre-requisite for this study let us go back to the days when the Promised Messiah, the Holy founder of the Move-

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ment, was still alive in the midst of his disciples. These disciples were men drawn from various walks of life but all possessing one common characteristic. Embedded deep in their natures was an inherent dislike of the materialistic view of life which at that time was sweeping the earth from pole to pole. They had been reluctant to accept that there was no significance in human life beyond the pleasure or pain of the moment, but they had been like children stumbling in the dark—poor lost souls crying in wilderness—as the only other possible alternative to this view, *i.e.*, the prevailing forms of various religions as interpreted and practised by their compeers, fell far short of satisfying the deeper spiritual longings of their natures. They had been in this state, bordering on despair, when the Promised Messiah appeared and his sacred words drove their doubts, uncertainties and misgivings from their hearts, bringing conviction in their place and a great Hope and Peace.

By far the greater number of these disciples were drawn from the general body of the Indian Muslims—Sunnis, Shias, Wahabis and Hanafis. Islam in those days was in very sore staits. Its temporal power, at one time so great as practically to control the world, was no more —partly smashed to smithereens by the successive blows of its enemies, and partly eaten away by an inner rust of deadly crosion, *i.e.*, civil wars. Its religious influence also had shrunk to zero. Christianity was the religion of those who now ruled over the earth and, as such, it had a great advantage over Islam, a religion followed by a beaten and decadent people. Moreover, Christendom had not forgotten how dangerously near it had been to going under in its struggle against Islam, both as a temporal power and as a philosophy of moral and spiritual values. In order to prevent a repetition of that terrible ordeal a determined pro-Christian propaganda was launch-

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ed over the entire Orient and gradually intensified to an extent which bade fair to replace the Quran and the Crescent by the four Gospels and the Cross as symbols of life.

The rotten core of the religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims, based not on the firm unshakable ground of the sacred word of God, but on ignorance and superstition, or on innovations which had their origin in the self interest of clever unscruplous Mullas, was not in a position to withstand the shock of this double onslaught. The result was that Christian Missions began to meet with a degree of success alarming in its possibilities. The Mullahs and the learned theologians, shepherds of the fold of Islam, when brought face to face with the superior financial resources of their opponents, their superior organization, superior technique of religious propaganda, superior mental and educational equipment, these Mullahs were mere pathetic figures of impotency, comic in their ignorance of that very religion which they were called upon to defend, and of the universe in which they lived. Their weakness in defence (for them to take the offensive was out of the question) was so palpable and obvious that, in more ways than one, it had a disastrous effect upon their own morale and the psychology of the masses.

These were the conditions and this the environment in which the Promised Messiah appeared. He claimed to be the *Mahdi* of the age, the Promised *Hakam*, the Judge who was to decide those age-long quarrels between Sunnis and Shias and Wahabis and Hanafis which for centuries had been tearing out the vitals of Islamic solidarity. He said that God had raised him as a Prophet in the spirit of the Messiah of old to " break the Cross " as had been spoken of in the *Ahadith* (traditions) of the Holy Prophet of Islam, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him. And he further claimed that he was the expected World Teacher, prophecies about whose advent in

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easy going youth, who did not possess sufficient energy or the intilligence to get through the ordinary course of a secondary school, was deserving of better regard than fell to their share.

In justice we have to admit that the situation was rather hard on these worthy gentlemen, and if it ranckled in their breast, we can well understand their feelings. It never seems to have occurred to them that if they failed to discover anything special in the young man whom their Khalifa treated with such extraordinary respect, it was perhaps a fault on the part of their eyes. Any way, they thought they were men who could call a spade a spade. Mian Mahmud was the son of their late Master but that did not mean that he was to be allowed a voice in deciding important questions of policy and the role which Ahmadiyyat was to play in the future.

Neither did it occur to them that themselves they stood precariously balanced on a most delicate question. In the light of the teachings of the Promised Messiah, was it permissible for Ahmadiyyat to amalgamate with non-Ahmadiyyat? This was the question that began to form itself into an issue of a fundamental nature—an issue between these gentlemen and another school of thought in the Community. Also between these gentlemen and their own conscience. Because when they came to the Promised Messiah and accepted him, they had done so with genuine sincerity, to a point at any rate. And now they perceived that the educated Muslim world had no mind to run away from the fact that against the onslaught of non-Muslims upon Islam, there was no champion but the Promised Messiah, and his writings had carried dismay into the hearts of the enemy. Why should not this state of mind be exploited for the benefit of Islam, especially when the thing could be so easily done? All that was needed was a little tact on the part of Ahmadies. The non-Ahmadies fought shy of only one thing; everything else they were

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the later days were to be met with in the Scriptures of almost every religion.

The Promised Messiah, in the course of his life, wrote about 80 books. The subject-matter dealt with in these works was : (1) the superior value of Islam as a religion over all other religious systems of the world; (2) and his own claim to be the promised world teacher and prophet. The effect of these illuminating writings, combined with the marvellous works which he wrought and which hundreds saw with their own eyes, soon began to make itself felt. He gained disciples in thousands in all parts of India. The Ahmadies, as these disciples were called, enlightened by his writings and discourses and invested with a power and a deep insight into matters spiritual very rare in those days, became like an impregnable wall round the citadel of Islam at that time sorely pressed by the simultaneous assault of three separate enemies—the Christian Missionaries, the Arya Samaj and a worldwide spirit of atheism. Whenever and wherever contact was made between an Ahmady on the one hand and a Christian Missionary, a member of the Arya Samaj or an atheist on the other, the result was invariably the same—a clear and convincing route of the enemies of Islam. As a matter of fact this turn of the tide was so complete as to put new heart into the heretofore thorougly beaten non-Ahmadies as well, with the result that they began to draw upon the arsenal which the Promised Messiah had brought into being in the form of his marvellous writings.

Yet, notwithstanding the fact that the non-Ahmadies gave to the Promised Messiah and to his followers a voluntary and unstinted meed of praise as the Champions of Islam, they, nevertheless, remained adamant in rejecting his claims and spared no pains in carrying on a relentless, perhaps also an unscruplous, campaign of vilification and persecution against him and his followers —a curious state of affairs, apparently self-contradictory, but in no way difficult to explain.

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The redoubtable and timely services which the Promised Messiah rendered to Islam were so obvious and overwhelming as to force recognition and gratitude. His claim, however, to be the *Mahdi*, the Promised Messiah, the Promised World Reformer and Prophet (Nabi) was in fundamental conflict with the private pet theories, prejudices, and expectations, entertained and cherished by the Muslims regarding the advent of the warrior *Mahdi* and the return of Prophet Jesus from the heavens, to which he had been taken by God in order to save him from death, and where he had been in residence, alive in flesh and blood, through the nineteen centuries that had elapsed since the event of his crucifiction. The Muslim public could not but recognize that the Promised Messiah had not only defended Islam successfully but had also carried the war into the homelands of the enemy; but when it came to the question of accepting his claims, they rejected him outright because he did not conform to their preconceived notions, all based on ignorance and superstition. But for the specific claim to be the long expected world Teacher and Messenger of God, the Promised Messiah would have at once been hailed by Muslims as the greatest Champion of Islam since the days of its founder. This peculiar attitude of the general Muslims towards the Promised Messiah holds the key to the splitting controvercies which we come across between the *Muba'een* and *non-Muba'een* regarding the questions generally referred to as Nabuwwat and Kufr-o-Islam.

As already observed, the Promised Messiah had attracted disciples from every walk and station in life. One among these was a gentleman named Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. He had, before he came in contact with the Promised Messiah, been on the verge of floundering in the cross-currents of doubts about the truth of Islam of the kind which assail the minds of those who have the

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misfortune of being exposed to the influence of materialistic tendencies inherent in the present-day civilization. He had, to a certain extent, been showing an inclination towards Christianity. That picture of Islam which the practical daily life of Muslims presented before him naturally did not appeal to him; change of religion, on the other hand, in the social conditions which prevail in India, involves a considerable degree of breaking away from one's relations and friends. He was therefore on the horns of a dilemma when luck brought him under the influence of the Promised Messiah. Here was Islam in a new light, the real Islam which satisfied his intellect and put before him ideals that were noble and worthy.

As was natural in those circumstances, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din took Bai'at at the hand of the Promised Messiah. But his allegiance to his spiritual master and his realisation of the true stature of the Promised Messiah, it seems, remained imperfect and superficial, as will be seen from the following incident:

In 1897 a memorable conference of religions took place in Lahore. Representatives of various religions were invited to put forth the views of their respective religions with regard to definite given questions. On the invitation of the conveners of this conference the Promised Messiah wrote a learned treatise which has since been published in book form under the name of *Islami Usul ki Philosophy* and *The Teaching of Islam*, which is its translation into English. Before being read out in the conference, this paper was read to the disciples of the Promised Messiah who happened to be present in Qadian at the moment Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din was among them and when the reading was finished he had the hardihood to give expression to ideas which were to the effect that the paper contained but an ordinary, unimpressive discussion of the questions; that it was meant to be read before a distinguished audience in which eminent scholars were to present their view-points

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in comparison with which the paper would fall flat; that, indeed, he would not be surprised if it were to draw the ridicule of the audience and humiliate the Ahmadies. The Promised Messiah tried to dispell this excessive passimism and announced that God Almighty had revealed to him that his paper would gain the distinction of being unanimously acclaimed to be the best paper read in the conference. Khwaja Sahib's sense of disappointment and his misgivings, however, remained, inspite of this positive, definite and authoritative announcement from his spiritual master whom he had accepted as the chosen servant of God expressly raised by Him to lead erring humanity to paths of spiritual progress and peace—a claim of which special and extraordinary Divine Aid is a necessary and an unfailing adjunct. No wonder that other Ahmadies, who realised the full import of the Promised Messiah's claim, were amazed at a demonstration of this mentality and the spiritual shallowness which it indicated.

The Promised Messiah, when sending his representatives to this conference, specially instructed Khwaja Sahib to have a poster (which he wrote personally for the purpose) published and distributed in Lahore to the effect that it had been revealed to him (the Promised Messiah) by God Almighty that his paper would, with one voice, be acclaimed as the best read in that conference. But Khwaja Sahib's misgivings had obtained such a firm hold upon him that he showed a marked reluctance to carry out the instructions as probably he considered that such a poster would only add to the humiliation when the paper came to be read. The other companions of the Promised Messiah, however, were not like Khwaja Sahib; they were firm of faith and pressed him to publish the poster and he yielded though at the very eleventh hour, the poster being affixed to walls (and such like) in various places in the town at the dead of night, immediately preceding the day on which it was to be read. But he had it fixed, it

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may here be mentioned, in positions and places where it was least likely to attract attention on the morrow. One wonders if feebleness of faith could have gone any further; or, to use a more accurate expression, have sink any lower.

Next day when the paper came to be read in the conference, some idea of its grandeur and its impression upon the audience may be gained from the fact that when it could not be finished in the time allotted to it, more time was given, and when it began to appear that it could not be finished even then, the assembled conference with one voice decided to have an extra sitting on the next day. The reading of the paper was then concluded before a packed house that had listened spell-bound all the time the reading had lasted.

There are one or two other notable incidents connected with Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din which occurred in the lifetime of the Promised Messiah and as the Khwaja Sahib took a very prominent part in the differences which arose later and finally led to the split, and as these incidents supply the keynote of the psychology of Khwaja Sahib, it is worthwhile to make a brief allusion to them before taking up the thread of happenings which came after the demise of the Promised Messiah and which form the most critical and also, in many respects, the most crucial episode in the history of the Ahmadiyya Community. The persecution which the Promised Messiah met with at the hands of his enemies very often took the form of trouble-some law-suits and litigations. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, who was a lawyer by profession, had opportunities to serve the Promised Messiah in the capacity of his legal adviser and representative. In this capacity also, he, on occasions, displayed feebleness of faith and a very poor realisation of the exalted position of the Promised Messiah, details of which need not be mentioned here. Over and above these, however, there is another little episode which goes far to indicate that Khwaja Sahib's faith in the Promised Messiah

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was but a mere drum with a hollow inside, was like a thin inflated bladder which collapses entirely at the merest casual pin prick. In 1905, *The Watan*, an influential daily in those days, set afoot a move to the effect that *The Review of Religions* (a monthly, founded by the Promised Messiah himself) should adopt the policy to leave out for the future all mention of his name and specific claims. This change the *Watan* advocated would bring forward hundreds and thousands of Muslims to its aid who so far had been holding back on account of the too obviously pro-Ahmady nature of the articles appearing in it. *The Review of Religions*, it said, was doing valuable work and deserved every encouragement, which would certainly be forthcoming provided that that feature was in future kept out of it which made the general Muslim public withhold its support.

Needless to say that this obliging offer to render assistance to *The Review of Religions* involved, in reality, a total and thorough negation of the position which the Promised Messiah held in the Divine Scheme for the regeneration and revival of Islam. Nevertheless, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din identified himself enthusiastically with this strange proposal: he, as a matter of fact, went to the length of deciding definitely once for all, at least as far as he was concerned, that in future *The Review of Religions* proper should contain no mention of the Promised Messiah and that for this purpose, and in order to fulfil any other specific need which the Ahmadiyya Community may have, he proposed that a supplement of the journal should be started. But his proposal gave rise to such a storm of opposition that he had to abandon it.

This idea, it may here be remarked, had made a very strong appeal to another Ahmady also—Dr. Abdul Hakim of Patiala—and although Khwaja Kamal-ud-Did, its real propagandist, did not pursue it further, Dr. Abdul Hakim started a correspondence with the Promised Messiah on the

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point, which correspondence, in its final stages, disclosed, on the part of Dr. Abdul Hakim, fundamental divergence of opinion from the views held by the Promised Messiah with regard to the position of those Muslims who did not accept his claim to be the Promised Mahdi and the Divine Messenger. The Promised Messiah at last turned Abdul Hakim out of the Ahmadiyya Community on account of his insistence on views which the Promised Messiah did not endorse. Here is a portion of the last letter which the Promised Messiah wrote to him on the point:—

"If you believe that the thousands of Muslims who have not accepted me (the Promised Messiah) cannot be considered to have no righteous and God-fearing men among them at all, then, applying the same principle, you will have to concede that the hundreds of thousands of the Jews and Christians, even though they have not accepted the Holy Prophet Muhammad, must have among them pious men who have light and truth in their hearts. In any event when God has revealed and made it clear to me that whomsoever my call has reached and he does not accept me, he is not a true Muslim and is guilty in the sight of the Lord, how can I turn my back upon His clear behest at the request of a person whose heart is in darkness, warped by a thousand worldly influences. Far more easy it is for me to repudiate such a person himself and I, therefore, this day declare that I renounce you and turn you out of the Ahmadiyya Community."

The result of this prompt and decisive action on the part of the Promised Messiah was that no other member of the Community dared openly to subscribe to the view which had brought Dr. Abdul Hakim to this end; but, as shown by subsequent developments, it appears that these and similar ideas had found a surreptitious way into the heart of many people, the Khwaja Sahib being by no means the least affected among them, so much so that the world has, since, seen him

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openly advocating this belief and preaching it to the public to the end of his days.

The Promised Messiah breathed his last on the 26th May 1908 (may the peace of God and His choicest blessings be upon him). The personalities prominent in the life of the Community at that time were :—

1. Hazrat Hakim Mulvi Nur-ud-Din whom the Promised Messiah himself had held in very high esteem for being his most worthy and exemplary disciple, and who was so venerated and loved by the Community that with one accord he was elected to be the first successor of the Promised Messiah.

2. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, M.A., who was the editor of *The Review of Religions*, and who, being one of those men (very few at the time) who had any degree of command over the English language, had come to the fore as the only man in the Community capable of fulfilling one of its most pressing needs—that of creating literature in English. He was also the General Secretary of the Board of Trustees of Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya.

3. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, B.A., LL.B., was a lawyer, practising in Lahore, at that time. He was a friend and close associate of Maulvi Muhammad Ali.

4. Maulvi Muhammad Ahsan of Amroha who was a prominent theologian and a divine of the old type and an influential member of the Community.

5. Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg, Lahore.

6. Syed Muhammad Hussain, Assistant Surgeon, Lahore.

7. Sheikh Rahmat Ullah, Merchant, Lahore.

8. Mir Hamid Shah, Sialkote.

9. Maulvi Ghulam Hussain, Sub-Registrar, Peshawar.

Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the present Head of the Ahmadiyya Community was then only 19 years of age.

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The Board of Trustees, Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya, was then only a recently created body in the Ahmadiyya Community. As in the differences, which arose later, the position of this body in the Community became, or at any rate was in the beginning, the central point of the controversy it seems advisable to introduce it to the reader. When the Promised Messiah repeatedly received Revelations from God which clearly indicated the near approach of his last moments upon this earth, he, for the future guidance of the Community, wrote out his Will which was then (February 1907) published in book form which he named *Alwasiyyat*. In this Will was laid the foundation of Maqbarah-i-Bahishti and incidentally of the Board of Trustees. The idea underlying the Maqbarah-i-Bahishti was that God-fearing men and those who may have taken pains and undergone hardships to succour the cause of Islam, should be buried together in one cemetery so that it should form a worthy memorial to inspire future generations of Ahmadies with similar high ideals.

Conditions with which it was necessary to comply in order to be buried in this Maqbara were clearly laid down by the Promised Messiah, chief among these being that (1) no one could be buried there who did not accept all his claims; (2) that only men of outstanding goodness and piety could be buried there; (3) provided they dedicated at least 1/10th of their property for the service of Islam and the Ahmadiyya Community. The properties accruing to the Community in this way, the Promised Messiah stipulated, were to be given in the charge of an Anjuman (body, group, association) which was to be known as *Anjuman Kar Pardas Masalih Maqbarah-i-Bahishti*.

This Anjuman was formed soon after the publication of *Alwasiyyat* but the original idea of the Promised Messiah about an Anjuman of this kind was, with characteristic daring and presumption on the part of Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, Maulvi Muhammad Ali, and their friends, enlarged and

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widened into the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya with its Board of Trustees, its *Anjuman Taraqq-i-Islam* and its *Anjuman Kar Pardas Masalih Maqbarah-i-Bahishti*, etc. This amplification was planned by the above-mentioned gentlemen and submitted to the Promised Messiah for approval which was given, though with the remark that the devisers of this scheme were setting their face in a direction other than the one in which he (the Promised Messiah) wished to take them.

As we observed, the most eminent personality in the Community after the Promised Messiah was Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din. He was, however, a living personification of the saying. "He who knows (God) most is most afraid and least inclined to be self-assertive." Those who saw him in those days do not need being told how he always preferred to stay in the background. Some people on the other hand (Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg and their friends) who were graduates, lawyers or successful men of business (and unfortunately for the Community) with little or no knowledge of religion or insight into matters spiritual, had come to look upon themselves as the intellectuals and the best brains of the Community. They considered themselves its representatives, capable of handling its affairs, and called upon to shoulder these responsibilities.

In the *Majlis-i-Mu'tamadin* (Board of Trustees), *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya*, which had been brought into being sometime before the death of the Promised Messiah, there was a solid block of men of this bent of mind. They seem to have conceived the idea of making the Board of Trustees the supreme controlling body in the Community the guiding reins of which they considered themselves well qualified to hold. Even though the Promised Messiah had given expression to a sense of misgiving regarding the direction in which they had set their course, they proceeded to go full steam ahead without worrying to consult their

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ready to accept. Was it necessary to literally ram[1] the Truth down their throats when they could be made to take it in by some wiser process of gradual assimilation? Besides, how could the handful of Ahmadies, depending upon their own single efforts, ever hope to make an impression upon the vast and immense world? Why should the Ahmadies try to do this common duty single-handed when potential allies stood near at hand, needing only to be asked before they joined in the fray? Against this line of reasoning and pleading their conscience, indeed, must have whispered in their ears: "On this subtle point, if once you make a false step, or slip, though ever so little you would never know you were sliding back into the slough from which God in His mercy had delivered you. Rather than the non-Ahmadies taking in the truth by gradual assimilation, it is more likely that sooner by far than that could happen, thet ruth in your own hearts would be made into base alloy, good for nothing at all except as a dead weight capable of dragging the strongest swimmer to the bottom of the sea."

Provided we assume that they came to the Promised Messiah with sincerity of purpose, we cannot but assume that their conscience must have pricked them once or twice; and it may be pricking them still—who knows. But the voice of conscience as we know, is often not heeded at all.

Anyway, that was the course that a group of high placed men in the Community were coming seriously to contemplate. Kh. Kamal-ud-Din was the man with whom the idea originated, or rather the man who overshot himself in his cleverness and picked for translation into action an idea that had been mooted by some people towards the close of the Promised Messiah's life and violently discarded by him as unworthy and highly dangerous. Kh. Kamal-ud-Din had supported the idea even at

1. *The Paigham Sulh*, September 14, 1913.

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charts again. Or perhaps, as some people think, they were but land-lubbers to whom the charts and the compass were but so many curios that had no bearing at all on the course of their own lives.

However, the stage was in this way set for the momentous drama that was to be enacted in the near future. After the death of the Promised Messiah the whole Community with one voice elected Hazrat Hakim Maulvi Nur-ud-Din as Khalifatul Masih and took Bai'at at his hand. This was during the last week of May 1908. Later events have proved that there were, even at this early date, indications of a discordant note which, however, was drowned by and dared not lift itself any louder against the overwhelming enthusiasm with which the Community hailed Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din as the first successor of the Promised Messiah. But the secret fissure which had come to exist in the body of the Community soon yawned out in open view for all the world to see.

During the lifetime of the Promised Messiah Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din was the President of the Board of Trustees of *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya*, having been put in that position by the Promised Messiah himself. Maulvi Muhammad Ali who was its General Secretary is, on occasions, known to have come into conflict with Hazrat Hakim Maulvi Nur-ud-Din and, as he was of a temperament which does not readily forgive or forget any slight (real or imaginary), he appears to have carried the memory of these clashes rankling in his breast even after he had taken Bai'at at Hazrat Hakim Nur-ud-Din's hand and had accepted him as the Khalifatul Masih.

At the time of the death of the Promised Messiah we have therefore, two men, who occupied important and influential positions and who became the central figures in the later differences and controversies, giving significant clues as to the direction in which their minds were working. To

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sacrifice some, or rather, the most important and fundamental characteristics of the Ahmadiyya Community in order to secure the applause and help of non-Ahmady Muslim masses reveals itself to be an overmastering impulse of Khwaja Sahib's nature ; while a desire to make the Anjuman supreme, and imaginary slights suffered at the hands of a man whom the whole Community later hailed as Khalifatul Masih were the secret sores in the heart of Maulvi Muhammad Ali.

That Maulvi Muhammad Ali was by temperament prone to feeling insulted by trivial matters which had no element of slight in them is well borne out by a rather personal note which he struck in the December issue of *The Review of Religions* in 1907, on the occasion of his wife's death. He expressed his gratitude to such of his friends as had helped him during her illness and shown sympathy with him in his sad bereavement while, in a manner of speaking, he complained against a "benefactor" who had given him a practical lesson "not to regard, ever in future, any house in this world as his own."

Now, for a long time past, prior to the death of his wife, Maulvi Muhammad Ali had been living in a portion of the house of the Promised Messiah. When sons of the Promised Messiah married and when the question of insufficient and inadequate accommodation became pressing, Hazrat Ummul Momineen was forced to request Maulvi Muhammad Ali to make other arrangements for himself. Hazrat Hakim Nur-ud-Din, Khalifatul Masih I., who was at that time living in another portion of the same house (adjacent to the one in which Maulvi Muhammad Ali was living) was also at about the same time requested to move into other quarters. This is the incident to which Maulvi Muhammad Ali refers as teaching him a practical lesson not to look upon any house in this world as his own.

When, on the death of the Promised Messiah, the consensus of opinion in the Ahmadiyya Com-

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munity elected Hazrat Hakim Nur-ud-Din as Khalifatul Masih, Maulvi Muhammad Ali, as has been hinted above raised a voice of dissent and at first declined to take Bai'at at his hand, a fact he himself admits, though in words which indicate that he would fain deny it if he could. On page 29 of *Haqiqat-i-Ikhtilaf* he writes: "When the hearse (of the Promised Messiah) reach Qadian (from Lahore where the Promised Messiah had breathed his last) Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din told me that it had been proposed that Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din should be the "Janasheen" (Successor) of the Promised Messiah, whereupon I remarked that that was quite right; that Maulvi Nur-ud-Din was the only person who was fit for that position in every way. Then he told me that it had also been decided that all Ahmadies should take Bai'at at his hand, to which I replied that there was no need to do that. Only those needed to take Bai'at who were new comers in the Community and that this was in reality the purport and meaning of *Alwasiyyat*. The Khwaja Sahib urged that the situation was delicate; that there was danger of cleavage in the Community; that there was no harm, really, if Ahmadies took Bai'at at the hand of Hazrat Maulvi Sahib: whereupon I also agreed. This, as God is my witness, is the real truth, which after distortion Mian Sahib has described in this way."

The reference in these last words is to a passage bearing on the point which occurs in *Aeena-i-Sadaqat*, a book written by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II.; in answer to Maulvi Muhammad Ali's "Split." This passage runs as follows:—

"When, on the death of the Promised Messiah he (Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din) was elected Khalifa the Maulvi Sahib (Muhammad Ali) did not like it; he even declined to accept Hazrat Khalifatul Masih as such and urged that the desirability and necessity for Khilafat could not be proved. But seeing the trend of opinion in the

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Community and in view also of the poor chance he had of carrying the Community with him, he (Maulvi Muhammad Ali) yielded and took Bai'at."

On reading the two passages just quoted, one fails to see what it is that Maulvi Muhammad Ali calls distortion on the part of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II. Obviously there are four things which Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II., has stated in this passage:

(1) That Maulvi Muhammad Ali did not at once accept Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din as the Khalifa;

(2) That he dissented from the trend of opinion in the Community, urging that there was no necessity to have a Khalifa at all;

(3) But on realising that there was no effective support for his views in the Community,

(4) He yielded and took Bai'at at the hands of Khalifat-ul-Masih I. That all these things have been admitted, some in so many words while others by implication, in the version of the incident given by Maulana Muhammad Ali himself, is quite clear. Only Maulana Muhammad Ali, perhaps, relies on the word "Janasheen", which he uses in this passage in connection with Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., to pull him out of the difficulty; on that and on the words that he only objected to the necessity of old members, too, taking Bai'at at the hand of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., the "Janasheen" of the Promised Messiah as he is here spoken of by Maulvi Muhammad Ali. But "out of the frying pan into the fire." If according to *Alwasiyyat* there was no need for old members of the Community to take Bai'at anew at the hand of the "Janasheen" of the Promised Messiah; and if to do so was tantamount to going against his sacred Will and Testament, then why did he (Maulvi Mohammad Ali) consent to such a course, realising full well the import of his action. Was it not his duty at such a crucial moment to stand firm and either to marshall the entire community on the line

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chalked out by the Promised Messiah; or at any rate, not to be swept off his feet on the very first impact of an opposing force. And the word "Janasheen" incidentally has sown the most troublesome thornsi n his path as will be shown later.

It may also be mentioned here that Maulvi Muhammad Ali in his book *Haqiqat-i-Ikhtilaf* has also referred to Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din's inexplicable behaviour in connection with the marvellous paper which the Promised Messiah wrote to be read in the Religions Conference in Lahore. What he has attempted to do is to suggest that this behaviour can be interpreted in other ways besides the one in which it has been interpreted by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II., in *Aeena-i-Sadaqat*, though, curiously enough, he fails to suggest as much as one single alternative meaning or complexion to be put upon it. All that he has achieved in this attempt is to call Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II., a number of names for holding this view. That he has here made no attempt to deny the actual facts of the case is proof conclusive that Kh. Kamal-ud-Din was greatly disappointed when this paper was read in Qadian; that the Promised Messiah assured him that it had been revealed by God that the paper would, with one accord, be acclaimed as the best and gave to Khwaja Sahib the draft of a poster containing a prophecy to that effect, which he was ordered to get printed and to publish in Lahore; that the Khwaja Sahib did so reluctantly at the eleventh hour, and only under pressure from other Ahmadies; and that even then he had the posters fixed to walls and such like places at the dead of night, and had them fixed in places and positions where they were not likely to attract much attention.

However, to resume the thread of the narration, on the death of the Promised Messiah Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din was chosen by the Community to succeed him. The members of the

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community then proceeded to take bai'at at his hand; but, to go by his own version, it occurred to Maulvi Muhammad Ali that to do so was not in accordance with the purport and meaning of *Alwasiyyat*. He therefore demurred at first, but on being pressed by some of his friends, who convinced him that the situation was a delicate one, he also took bai'at at last. Maulvi Muhammad Ali would have us believe that he only demurred from taking bai'at, which act he thought was unnecessary in the case of the old members of the Community who had already taken bai'at at the hand of the Promised Messiah and which, moreover, was contrary to his last will and testament but did not at all hesitate to accept Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din as the "Janasheen" of the Promised Messiah. But the sequence of later events and certain ripples, originating from him and the circle of his intimate friends, soon after found to be disturbing the smooth surface, very gently and imperceptibly though at first, indicate plainly that Maulvi Muhammad Ali in the beginning definitely decided not to accept Hazrat Khalifat-ul-Masih in any sense; that his ground for taking up this attitude was that *Alwasiyyat* positively precluded Khilafat or any such office held by a single individual; that the powers and privileges pertaining thereto had, by the Promised Messiah in his last Will and Testament, been vested in the *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya*; that in the immediate circle of his more intimate friends there were some other people who held similar views; that the majority of them, on reflection, or say, on finding an overwhelming weight of opinion in the Community inclined the other way, had decided for the present to take bai'at at the hand of Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din; that Maulvi Muhammad Ali probably was not fully cognizant of his friends having arrived at the decision until his conversation with Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din to which he refers on page 29 of *Haqiqat-i-Ikhtilaf*'; that on the position being explained to him by

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Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, he fell in with the decision arrived at by his friends, which decision was that so far they did not possess, in their persons, singly or collectively, weight and influence enough to be able to wrench off the entire Community from its own desired course and to set its face in a direction selected by them; that any such attempt in the circumstances would be worse than fool-hardy; and that it would really be much better to let the vessel sail out for a while in the direction indicated by popular choice and then, while every body else was asleep below, to give a deft turn to the helm—slight, very slight—which would suffice soon to take them hundreds of miles off the set course.

This analysis of the "delicate and critical" situation, which must have been presented with the lucidity and force characteristic of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, had its effect upon Maulvi Muhammad Ali; and he and his friends took bai'at at the hand of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., but did so with an important mental reservation and immediately proceeded to mould the opinion of the Community into conformity with their secret views. Accordingly we find that immediately after these events, in this particular circle (which, as the days went by, began to get clearly defined) the relative position and the powers of the Khalifa and the Anjuman became a favourite topic of discussion; and these people began to feel their way about in the Community. Within a fortnight Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din in the presence of Maulvi Muhammad Ali asked Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad as to what was his idea with regard to the powers of the Khalifa.[1] He replied that the time to raise this question (if at all the powers of the Khalifa were open to them to be curtailed) was when as yet they had not accepted Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din as Khalifat-ul-Masih;

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, page 210.

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and that after taking bai'at at his hand and swearing obedience to him it was worse than absurd to talk which powers belonged to him and which did not. The feelers were thereupon withdrawn and the conversation was turned on to other matters. The fact that Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad later became Khalifatul Masih II., is no reason why we should discard his testimony in this matter; but leaving even this apart, clear evidence is not wanting that this group, immediately after swearing obedience to him, proceeded quietly to influence the Community and to put forth before it their private pet theory that in the affairs of the Community the Anjuman was the real supreme and controlling authority, not the Khalifa.

In the Annual Gathering of the Community at Qadian, the headquarters of the movement, during December 1908, only six months afterwards, a definite and determined but tactful attempt was made to switch off the mind of the Jama'at from Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., and to make it look in another direction for guidance. In the official report of the proceedings of this gathering, we have the first place given to the Annual report of *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya* wherein, on the very first page, we come across this passage:—

"What is the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya? It is the name of the entire number of the members of the Ahmadiyya Community taken as a whole and as one body. In other words, the name of the Ahmadiyya Community, when it is spoken of with reference to its activities, is *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya*, a body of which every individual of the movement who helps the Community in any way is a member. As this Community, or, which is the same thing, the members of this Anjumanre a to be found scattered not only in the Punjab and India but in other parts of the globe as well; and as therefore, it is impossible for these members to take part personally in the activities of the Community, the Promised Messiah, when he founded

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this Anjuman, also created at the same time another smaller body called the *Majlis-i-Mu'tamadeen* for the purpose of carrying on the executive functions. This Board comprises fourteen members nominated by the Promised Messiah himself, and, through his flawless and unerring discernment, he put at their head as their President that pre-eminent personage who, in the eyes of God Almighty, stood marked out to become his Khalifa after his death and who, today, is our Amir and leader. The Promised Messiah trusted the entire control and executive powers to the Board and had it functioning in his own life, giving to all its decisions the position of finality. Accordingly we find that in the course of the year under report, on the 27th October 1907, he wrote, on an occasion, the following words: 'My opinion is no other than this that when any affair has been settled in the Anjuman and when the majority is in favour of it that decision should be deemed correct and final. But I also like to add that in matters pertaining to religion and the specific objects of our divine mission, information of such decisions should be sent to me. I am fully confident that this Anjuman would never in any case act against my wishes and the above is written purely by way of precaution, lest a decision concern a matter with regard to which God Almighty may have some special intentions. And this condition holds only during my lifetime, the considered conclusion of this Anjuman being sufficient in all matters after my death.'"

After this, dropping the subject abruptly and leaving the powerful suggestion (thrown in a masterly manner) to soak into the mind of the audience, the report goes on to talk of other matters. But the speakers who followed all took up the same burden of the song, and carefully concealing the ultimate objective of the manoeuvre, so that no opposition may have a chance to crystallize, they proceeded to wean away the community from the control and guidance of Hazrat

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Khalifatul Masih I.

The first speaker apart from Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., is Mir Hamid Shah of Sialkot. A close study of his speech brings out the fact that some inner light makes him believe that the *Qudrat-i-Saniah*, about the coming of which glad tidings had been given by the Promised Messiah in *Alwasiyyat*, had made its first manifestation in their midst in the person of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., (see page 78); but this inner light seems confused in him by some subtle influence which appears to be holding him under a spell which tends to take him in a direction away from the path which he thinks he is pursuing; and ever and anon he is puzzled and alarmed when he misses the expected landmarks on the road. He is found bestowing high praise on the eminent personalities of *Sadr-i-'Ala* (by which phrase he means the personalities prominent in the Community) and goes on to say: (page 80) "therefore, in view of the exigencies of the occasion and the position which we occupy, it is incumbent on us that we should listen with all attention to the proposals of this *Sadr-i-'Ala* and should undertake to carry out those proposals. The personalities comprising the *Sadr-i-A'la* who are even now under the spiritual influence of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and bear witness to his God given *jazab* (attraction) day and night; and the surviving members of the family of the Promised Messiah who are in support of *Sadr-i-'Ala*, all these, with their combined prayers can draw divine help and succour to an extent not as yet possible (except in rare exceptions) in the case of those members who are living in various places outside. The only object of our coming here now, therefore, is to subordinate our entire capacities and powers to the will of the personalities of *Sadr-i-'Ala*, obedience to whose orders is our bounden duty."

This passage is remarkable for two reasons: (1) for speaking of *Sadr-i-'Ala* as something apart from Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and from the

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that time and he was the man who opened this crusade now—this campaign in favour of the useless wooden symbol of a far-fetched, fantastic idea—a hope that was only a delusion and a mirage that led him on into a parched and waterless waste. When and how the plan took possession of him, perhaps he himself did not know. But once his mind was fogged by these mists he simply slid from point to point until presently he lost all sense of bearings.

Chance, or his own ingenuity, created some openings for him to deliver a few lectures on Islam. For these he drew freely upon the Divine Fountain as made accessible to him through the teachings of the Promised Messiah, and his fate was sealed when he chanced to omit mention of the source upon which he drew. Lectures of this kind he perceived were greatly appreciated even by non-Ahmadies and, unconsciously perhaps, he took his cue from that circumstance. But the road that now lay before him was so easy to tread that once he had taken the first step, he sped along without volition, as a matter of course, until presently he ceased to know where he was going. Encouraged by appreciation he took steps to widen this influence; he toured from place to place, lecturing everywhere on tried and set lines and began to make a name among Ahmadies and non-Ahmadies—but more among non-Ahmadies. The things he said were not new to most of the Ahmadies, who knew, moreover, where those things came from. Besides, the more discerning among them began to be uneasy as soon as they perceived the drift of his mind. There are hundreds of these Ahmadies yet alive but I would name only one here—Raja Ali Mohammad Khan, E.A.C., District Settlement Office, Lahore, who at that time was stationed at Hoshiarpur. On the 4th of December this year I happened to be his guest for a day or two and during my first evening with him it came out during conversation that Kh. Kamal-ud-Din's lectures

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surviving members of the family of the Promised Messiah; (2) and for preaching the new doctrine that it was the duty of the Ahmadiyya Community to subordinate itself to the will, not of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, but of the eminent and worthy personalities of the *Sadr-i-'Ala*. Those who knew Mir Hamid Shah in his life—his simple, straight-forward and unsuspecting nature—will not take long to see whose spirit it was that was speaking through him in these words, cleverly calculated to make an unsuspecting tool of him to mislead people and also at the same time to confuse, to drug and stupify his own simple perception. As a matter of fact the entire paragraph covering pages 79 and 80 furnishes a most striking study in this respect.

Two other speakers, (Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg and Dr. Sayed Muhammad Husain Shah) both belonging to this commaradarie, went more quickly and more openly to their point. Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg told the audience plainly that the *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya* was the successor in office of the Khalifa ordained by God (*i.e.*, the Promised Messiah); while the other tried to bring Maulvi Muhammad Ali into lime-light (page 96) and then went on to describe what the *Sadr Anjuman* expected from the Community, giving a programme prepared by it, which the Community was required to carry out under its guidance and control.

Keeping an eye over these ideas which Maulvi Muhammad Ali and his friends were trying to instil into the unsuspecting mind of the Community, one is in a position to realize the truth of the following passage in *Aeena-i-Sadaqat*, page 128:

"Meanwhile the time for the Annual Gathering drew near, for which occasion friends of Maulvi Muhammad Ali took special pains to prepare their speeches. Then coming to the stage one after the other they started to impress upon the audience that the *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya*,

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of which these people were the trustees, was the real successor of the Promised Messiah, put in that position by the Promised Messiah himself, and that obedience to its decrees was obligatory upon the whole Community. So much stress, however, was laid on the point and the thing repeated so frequently that some discerning people got an inkling of the sinister motive at the back. They perceived that it was a consipracy to divest Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., of all those powers which in Islam are vested in a Khalifa and to establish, instead, the Khilafat of the *Sadr Anjuman*. Eight members out of fourteen were close and bosom friends of Maulvi Muhammad Ali while many others were accustomed to saying aye aye and nay nay to his yes or no, some on account of their innate tendency to take every thing and every body on trust, and others because that was all they were capable of doing. The Khilafat of *Sadr Anjuman* virtually meant the Khilafat of Maulvi Muhammad Ali who was at that time the sole authority in it by virtue of being the head of a private clique of friends. On account of certain other duties I did not get an opportunity of listending to all the speeches, and even from those I did attend I failed to perceive the drift of this undercurrent; but, as later events have proved, some other people had penetrated to this depth."

It may here be remaked that the basic fallacy into which Maulvi Muhammad Ali and his friends fell, only too preciptately, being already strongly predisposed in that direction, was that the Promised Messiah had given the status of finality to the decisions of the Board of Trustees of *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya* (in which their's was the dominant element) whereas this position, in that very passage on which they take their stand, the Promised Messiah has given that authority to the decisions of the *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya* which, to quote Maulvi Muhammad Ali's own words "is the name of the entire number of the members of the Community taken as a whole and

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as one body." It is obvious that the very first decision of this Anjuman immediately on the death of the Promised Messiah was to elect Hazrat Hakim Nur-ud-Din to be the Khalifatul Masih, thus recognizing him to be possessed of all those powers and privileges which in Islam are vested in a Khalifa ; and perhaps it would be pardonable to say that it passes the comprehension of ordinary mortals how those persons who revolted against the very first decision of the *Proper Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya*, can claim to champion its cause and to uphold its authority.

Some idea concerning this spirit of rebellion was in some mysterious and miraculous way being conveyed to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and he took the earliest opportunity to warn the Community against it in general terms. This is borne out by a passage in that speech which Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., delivered in the very first Annual Gathering of his Khilafat.

" A question here rises which is : you (meaning himself) are not a *Mulhim* ; what need have we of you ? Is not the guidance provided for us by the Promised Messiah sufficient for our needs ? But I tell you that this is the question of wicked people (*bad bakht*) who have no knowledge of the ways of God. Such questions strike at the very root of the purpose and function of the Prophets of God ; for it can equally be asked that whereas " God taught Adam the names, all of them," (taught Adam everything that is) wherein lies the necessity of believing in Noah and Abraham ?..... Then coming to more recent times take the case of Prophet Muhammad (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him) whom I believe to be *Khatimur Rusul, Khatimul Hukam, Khatimun Nabeeyeen, Khatimul Auliya and Khatimul Insan.* If after him a person does not believe in Abu Bakr, the verdict of the Holy Quran about such a person is : 'and he who denies after this he is amongst the *fasiqeen*'..... .... Then how can you rebel and say we

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have no need (of you).....The truth of the matter is that concord, agreement and unity are indispensable, and these are unattainable without organizing under one Imam."

The Ahmadies who had assembled in Qadian had thus an opportunity of listening to those who were secretly clearing their way to seduce the Community from its allegiance to the rightful Khalifa and also to what Hazrat Khalifatul Masih thought of those engaged in this work. The people then dispersed to their homes. There were, however, men in Qadian who had seen which way the wind was blowing and, apprehensive lest the poison, carried away unsuspectingly by many, should get a chance to vitiate the system, they thought it was necessary to obtain a clear ruling as to whether the *Sadr Anjuman* (wrongly confused by the agitators with the Board of Trustees) was subordinate to the Khalifa or *vice versa*. Mir Muhammad Ishaq, one among this number, drew up a number of questions calculated to draw out a decisive and unambiguous ruling on the point, and submitted them to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., for favour of answer. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., handed these over to Maulvi Muhammad Ali for that purpose. In the answers which Maulvi Muhammad Ali submitted, he assigned such an insignificent and ineffectual role to the Khalifa that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was struck with amazement. These questions, along with the answers which he gave, have been reproduced by Maulvi Muhammad Ali himself in *Haqiqat-i-Ikhtilaf* (pages 38-41) and any one can see what status and position and authority he gives to the Khalifa.

January 31, 1909

From Maulvi Mohammad Ali's answers to these questions Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I. percieved that the matter was serious and the malady deep. In view of the gravity of the

situation he ordered a number of copies to be made of the questions and directed that these should be circulated in the Community with a request for reply. He also invited representatives of the branch Anjumans in various places to assemble at Qadian in this connection on January 31, 1909.

When people began to arrive they were approached at places *en route* by agents of the Lahore Group, and a clever and determined effort was made to influence their minds in favour of the view that the final authority in the affairs of the Community was vested by the Promised Messiah in the Anjuman, not in the Khalifa. As for this purpose a passage of *Alwasiyyat* was exploited, of which the unwarranted interpretation on the part of this group was not suspected by many people, this propaganda succeeded in making an impression upon them. In Lahore, where the group considered itself to be in its own domain, diplomacy was thrown to winds and the conspirators practically came out into the open. Before proceeding to Qadian, and in preparation for that occasion, they convened a meeting of prominent Ahmadies in Lahore. After suitable beguiling exhortations a memorandum was drawn up that the real representative of the Promised Massiah's authority, after his death, was the Anjuman and signatures were obtained from those attending the meeting. The thoroughness of the vigorous attempt made on this occasion may be gauged from the fact that all who were present signed the memorandum. All but two, Qureshi Hakim Muhammad Husain and B. Ghulam Mohammad, Foreman, Railway Workshops. These two stalwart champions of the authority of Khilafat proved very disconcerting in their simple directness. They said they had accepted *Bai'at* at the hand of a man who was a hundred times more learned than they, and a thousand times more righteous and competent to understand the Will and Testament of the Promised Messiah:

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they would, therefore, simply accept whatever decision he gave in the matter.

By the night of January 30, some 200 to 250 delegates had arrived in Qadian. From the vigorous canvassing carried on by the Lahore Group, it was evident to many that the crisis was of a nature likely to have far-reaching results. They were gravely anxious at heart, therefore, and spent the night in vigil and prayer. With early dawn came the call of the *Muazzin* and they gathered in the Masjid Mobarak for the morning service. The mosque was soon full, but Hazrat Ameerul Momineen had not yet arrived to lead the prayer; and the conspirators thought it was too good an opportunity to be wasted. Sh. Rahmat Ullah addressed the gathering to sway it in favour of the rebel view. "God's wrath," he declared with well simulated fervour, "a few designing men are out to ruin the Community by raising a stripling to the Khilafat." The 'stripling' in question, too, heard this remark and was greatly mystified by it, never dreaming that he himself was being referred to. As we know, doors open into the mosque from the house of the Promised Messiah. In one of the rooms behind these doors Mian Mahmud, in an agony of suspence over the crisis, was pacing up and down, praying to God to guide the delegates to the right decision and right attitude of mind. He heard this remark and wondered who the 'stripling' in question could be. He, evidently, did not know, at the time, as he came to know later on, that these decorous, worthy gentlemen never tired of contemptuously alluding to him as a 'stripling.' Thus, until the arrival of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., the question was well talked over in the mosque, and every aspect of it was explained to the congregation. At length, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih came and the service began. The text he chose for recitation was the Chapter entitled, *Buruj*. As he came upon the verse:

"Those who cause the believing men and

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the believing women to fall into trial and repent not, for them is the punishment of hell and the torment of burning," a strange influence fell upon the whole congegation. It seemed as though the verse had been revealed just then. The heart of every worshipper was filled with the fear of God. The mosque seemed a hall of mourning. In spite of the utmost effort to control, such loud sobs and moans involuntarily escaped many worshippers that perhaps, never had a mother wept more bitterly over the death of an only son. Not a man was there who did not weep. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih himself had his voice choked by the intensity of the emotion. And such a strange feeling seemed to have passed over the whole people that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih recited the verse for a second time. Then every member of the congregation seemed half-dead and save the few recalcitrant spirits that were there, all felt a softening of heart and a renewal of faith and a complete absolution from selfish thoughts."[1]

But conspiracy and lack of moral scruples, or call it a blindness of the heart, invariably go hand in hand. The hearts of the delegates were softened by the memorable service and deep emotions had been stirred in their hearts, preparing them to receive the Will of God without question. But the Lahore Group proceeded to exploit the psychological moment to their own advantage. No sooner had Hazrat Ameerul Momineen retired from the mosque than one of them produced a writing of the Promised Massiah and interpreting it to mean that the Anjuman should be the final authority after him, obtained signatures from many people who sighed under the impulse of the moment, thinking this was the Will of God, and failing to penetrate the artifice employed by the agitators against the authority of the Khalifa.

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, p. 222.

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A clever move

With regard to Hazrat Mian Sahib Maulvi Muhammad Ali and his friends seemed to have entertained a very peculiar opinion. On the one hand they accused him of having been a clever and ambitious young man, with unscrupluous designs upon the office of Khilafat: on the other, on a number of occasions they tried to dupe him or use him as an unsuspecting tool in matters of great to moment. For instance, on the 31st of January after the morning service had been over and the time fixed for the meeting of delegates had come, and they were beginning to assemble at the appointed place (roof of Masjid Mubarak), Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg approached Hazrat Mian Sahib. " Please go," he requested "and reassure Hazrat Khalifatul Masih that there is no apprehension of trouble now as it has been well explained to the people that the rightful successor to the authority of the Promised Messiah was the Anjuman." Naturally Mian Sahib declined to undertake the mission.

This move on the part of Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg is very interesting. In the first place it denotes that his real estimate (and that of his friends) with regard to Hazrat Mian Sahib was that his simple-mindedness was so great as to make it easy for him to be made a tool of. In the second place it was a clever and quiet threat to Mian Sahib to watch his step lest he should be foolhardy enough to raise his voice in support of a point against which there was a strong united sentiment in the Community. Thirdly, in subtlety the move was well worthy of the best conspirators in history. He knew that Hazrat Mian Sahib stood very close to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih who relied on his devotion, and he calculated that if he could be made a tool in the propaganda. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih would be dismayed and possibly cowed by the news into giving up any idea of making a stand.

Thus their propaganda that Mian Sahib was

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cleverly manœuvring himself into position in order to secure his succession to Khilafat was a lie and they knew in their own hearts that it was nothing else. In reality they took him to be a simple-minded ordinary sort of young man without perception or judgment. There are other incidents too (and one or two would come out further in the story), to show that on occasions they tried to deceive him or use him as a tool. And above all, the incident shows that Mirza Yaqub Beg's conception of a Khalifa's sense of duty was horribly at fault. But for the tragic consequences spiritually of this conception, its gross inadequacy would, in fact, be a colossal joke. A man with a proper realisation of the position of the Khalifa in relation to God would never dream of intimidating him.

But to resume. When Hazrat Mian Sahib declined the mission Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg blithely proceeded on the mission himself. As soon as Hazrat Khalifatul Masih arrived in the mosque, he presented himself before him and blandly volunteered the information that every thing was in order: people had been made to percieve that the Anjuman was the true representative of the authority of the Promised Messiah.

Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's answer, however, must have exploded in his face like a bomb-shell. "Which Anjuman?" querried Hazrat Ameerul Momineen, "The Anjuman you are thinking of has no standing under the rules." Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg's smug satisfaction must have received a rare shock at the moment. The matter was not to be as easy as that after all. The conspirators had not expected altogether an unprotesting acquiesence on the part of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, and to overcome the little reluctance he may have had in his heart to fall in with their views, they had made thorough preparations. When they came to the meeting, therefore, they came as to a battle which their clever generalship had already won. But with two words from the

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mouth of the Khalifa, their house of cards came to the ground with a crash. "Which Anjuman?" he asked. One might well imagine how from Mirza Yaqub Beg's face his smirking smile must have disappeared at these words.

M. Muhammad Ali and his friends had prepared a place in a central position to be occupied by Hazrat Ameerul Momineen during the meeting. But he ignored it and went to take his stand in the northern part which had been built by the Promised Messiah. His doing so had a double meaning: it was an expression of displeasure against Maulvi Muhammad Ali and his friends under whose management the extention of the mosque had been built, and secondly perhaps it was due to a desire on the part of Hazrat Ameerul Momineen to stand in the original *Masjid Mubarak* with regard to which there is a revelation of the Promised Messiah that everything done in it would be blessed by God.

Standing in the old original part of the mosque, therefore, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih spoke to the assembled delegates.

He said that the question of Khalifat belonged to the *Shariat*, *i.e.*, the Law of Islam, that the Community could not possibly advance without a Khalifa, that he had been told by God that for every one who should turn apostate, He would give him a Jama'at of new adherents, that therefore he had little regard for what they might choose to decide, and that through God's grace it was his firm conviction that He would remain his Helper. Then, referring to the replies of Kh. Kamaluddin and Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih continued:—

"There are people who would tell you that the duties of the Khalifa consist only of leading congregation in the daily prayers and in funeral services and in accepting Ba'iat from new-comers. This is the outcome of ignorance and impertinence; such men should, therefore, repent and seek forgiveness, for otherwise harm is sure to come

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in those days, though very popular with some people only made him feel uneasy and drew him away from Khwaja Sahib.

Kh. Kamal-ud-Din conducted this campaign with great vigour and then he left for England in connection with some legal business on behalf of one of his clients. Though he went primarily for that purpose, he had it in mind, too, to try and see what could be done by way of Islamic missionary effort in that country. But curiously enough, he omitted all mention of the fact that some legal business was taking him to England, giving out to the public the purpose of his journey in such a way that it gave to it the character of purely a missionary enterprise, much too beyond his means, on which he was venturing boldly, nevertheless.[1]

Kh. Kamal-ud-Din sailed from Bombay on September 7, 1912. Almost a year after this *The Paigam Sulh* was started by his friends at Lahore and this journal from the moment of its birth, dedicated itself to the campaign which Kh. Kamal-ud-Din had carried on for a considerable time before he sailed for England.

In the crisis which developed in the Ahmadiyya Community on the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Mesih I., the prime-mover was Kh. Kamal-ud-Din. His idea was to amalgamate the Ahmadiyya Movement, even at the cost of its most fundamental purpose, with the vast body of the non-Ahmadies, to capture the imagination of the masses by mission work abroad and thereby put himself at the head of the Muslim world as a Champion of Islam. But he manœuvred certain questions so dexterously, and exploited certain elements in the situation so cleverly, that many of his friends became as deeply involved in the matter,

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1. *The Paigham-i-Sulh*, Lahore, July 10, 1914, to mention only one issue, otherwise this theme runs in and out of almost every issue for months practically, through the whole of the first volume of this paper.

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to them." Proceeding further he observed: "You have caused me great pain by your acts and have brought the office of Khalifa into contempt, that is why this morning I did not take my stand in the part of the mosque which has been built by you; I am standing instead in the portion which was built by the Promised Messiah himself."[1]

Lahore leaders renew Bai'at

Hazrat Ameerul Momineen's speech opened the eyes of the delegates, and those who had been working to depose the Khalifa practically, had the chagrin of seeing this clever scheme swept off like fortifications built in sand by children at play on a sea beach. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih rebuked them sharply for the agitation they had been carrying on and said that by their acts they had put themselves out of the Jama'at and if they desired to continue in the Ahmadiyya Community they should take *Bai'at* anew. The command for fresh Bai'at he issued to three men by name: Kh. Kamaluddin, Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Sheikh Yaqub Ali Irfani. The offence committed by the former two was their effort to undermine the authority of Khalifa—in other words, rebellion, Shiekh Yaqub Ali Irfani had taken upon himself to take steps to counter the agitation against the powers of the Khalifa. Hazrat Amirul Momineen treated this too as an offence. When the Khalifa himself, he said, was in their midst, and knew all that was going on, it was his place to do the needful or order necessary steps to be taken. For any one to have acted without his mandate was presumptuous. Thus he ordered Sheikh Yaqub Ali, too, to take *Bai'at*.

I may be wrong in my view but I cannot help feeling that on any other occasion Hazrat Khalifatul Masih would not have treated Sheikh Sahib's offence with the same severity as he did on this

1. *The Truth about the Split.*

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occasion. In the first place at a time when the position of the Khalifa was in dispute, his action left uncensored, or only mildly rebuked, might later have been taken as a precedence by officious persons; and secondly, I believe, requisition of fresh *Bai'at* from Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, alone, would have brought out their guilt into full view of the whole Community in too sharp and startling relief. For this reason his kind heart desired that they should not damn themselves in the sight of God by reacting to the punishment spiritually in some suicidal manner on account of the deep wound to their pride in being singled out for punishment.

The three of them took fresh *Bai'at*—Sheikh Yaqub Ali in real repentence of heart, evidently, for he has never made that mistake again; but Kh. Kamal-ud-Din and Maulvi Muhammad Ali only outwardly and as a measure of policy, because they stood fully exposed. If they were to achieve the aim of divesting the Khalifa of his rightful powers and to arrogate these powers to themselves in one form or another, it was necessary that they should lie low for a time and cover up their mistakes under a cloak of assumed obedience. On the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., however, they led the old revolt once more which had been nipped by him in the bud.

Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, a cleverer man by far and a better diplomat, learnt a deep lesson from these two mistakes. His first had been when within a fortnight of the election of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., he had asked Hazrat Mian Sahib what in his view were the powers of the Khalifa. He had at once drawn in his feelers on that occasion. After this greater reverse he called off the compaign on this salient altogether and devoted himself to a task comparable to running a tunnel under enemy lines to blow them up with dynamite. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, however, shallower of mind as compared to Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, with a more irritable temper and a sensative skin that

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felt even the casual caress of the wind as a deliberate pinprick, continued to clash with the Khalifa, who continued to suffer him out of a desire that if there was any good in him it be given a chance as far as possible to assert itself and open his eyes. But unfortunately he did not benefit by this lenience.

When Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I, died Kh. Kamal-ud-Din was away in London from where he lent his weight to the revolt. When he returned to India, however, he felt called upon to state his views afresh, and in the course of his first lecture on the subject he was rather hard put to it to devise some meaning for having been called upon to renew his *Bai'at*—a meaning that should give to it the colour of approval and pleasure instead of a punishment from Hazrat Ameerul Momineen. But his ingenious mind, it seems, was never at fault. When he had nothing to rely upon, he had a marvellous power of invention to take him out of a tight corner. That *Bai'at*, he said, was not *Bai'at-i-tauba* (repentance and contrition) but *Bai'at-i-Irshad* taken by Sufis from chosen disciples who had successfully gone through the first stage of progress. *Bai'at-i-Irshad* indeed! But what else can we expect from a man who in order to please a convert in Europe, had not scrupled to say that he did not regard the Holy Prophet Muhammad as being in any way superior to Jesus Christ.

Clash over M. Fazal Din's house

However, chastized in public on January 31, 1909, Kh. Kamal-ud-Din completely changed his tacticts, showing himself better in dissimulation than Maulvi Muhammad Ali who could not forget an injury to his vanity however slight, nor knew how to bide time as his friend did. In his capacity as Secretary of *Majlis-i-Motamadeen* Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, he began to obstruct Hazrat Khalifatul Masih in the affairs of the Community. Of his obstinate opposition to the wishes of Hazrat

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Amirul Momineen only one instance need be given here. Hakim Maulvi Fazal Din of Bhera had made a will giving his properties to the Ahmadiyya Community to be devoted to the propagation of Islam. Included in these properties was a house which Hakim Fazal Din had purchased from a local Ahmady at a low price because the man was in need of money. Now that the house had come to the Ahmadiyya Community and was to be sold, its former owner applied to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., explaining how he had been forced by circumstances to let the house go for a price considerably lower than its real value, and begged that it be sold to him for a price which he suggested and which was less than the house might have fetched if thrown on an open market. In consideration of the fact that the applicant was an old Ahmady who in his life had well served the cause of the Community, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih accepted the application and directed that the house be sold to him for the price he had suggested. Here, thought Maulvi Muhammad Ali, was a rare chance to make a stand against the Khalifa. A transaction was being ordered to be put through which involved some financial loss to the Community and he calculated that the Community on being told would revise its estimate of the Khalifa. He calculated, moreover, that the Khalifa, if confronted by a firm stand, would not probably like to push the matter to extremes for fear of giving the Community just cause for complaint and would, in his own interest, prefer to yield. The matter could then be made into a precedence to be used as a lever for shaking the whole edifice of Khilafat. He and his supporters discussed the matter, therefore, with Hazrat Amirul Momineen and suggested that the proper course was to offer the house for open sale so as to fetch the highest possible price. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih explained to them the reasons why he had entertained the application and granted the request, but the rebels refused to

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be influenced by the consideration and remained firm in their purpose. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih then wrote to them to say that he had no more to say in the matter and they might proceed as they thought fit.

A meeting of the *Majlis* was then called and the matter brought up for decision. Dr. Mohammad Husain made a short speech to say that as trustees of the Sadr Anjuman they were responsible before God and it behoved them to be influenced by no consideration whatever except the good of the Community. Then he asked Hazrat Mian Sahib what was the best course to be pursued in the matter. Hazrat Mian Sahib replied that when the Khalifa thought fit to make a concession it was their duty to carry out his wish. Upon this Muhammad Husain said that Hazrat Amirul Momineen had granted them permission to proceed in the matter as they liked. Hazrat Mian Sahib, however, was not satisfied and expressed a desire to see the letter. When he read it he perceived that the words were words of displeasure, not of permission. He, therefore, definitely dissociated himself from the course the rest of the members intended to pursue. His dissenting voice, however, was ignored and in the decision arrived at the express wish of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was disregarded.

When Hazrat Amirul Momineen came to know of the decision he summoned them and demanded an explanation. They replied that the decision represented a unanimous vote, and added that Mian Sahib too had been present at the meeting. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih then sent for Hazrat Mian Sahib. "How is it, Mian, that my wishes are openly disregarded?" Hazrat Mian Sahib submitted that he had not at all been guilty of that offence and narrated what had happened. Hazrat Amirul Momineen then addressed himself to these men, "Do you hear," he said; "You call him a stripling but a stripling understood my letter, and you did not." Thus confronted by his towering

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personality, the fight they contemplated went out of them and they sued for pardon.

But repentance was a word the meaning of which was entirely alien to their hearts. They renewed their attack in a more deadly form. They gave him obsiquious obedience outwardly, but secretly they got to work and set whispers afloat on the air that he was not a competent Khalifa: that to save the Community from ruin he would rather have to be deposed. When these whispers reached Hazrat Ameerul Momineen he perceived that liniency in dealing with these men was of little use, and he decided to announce their expulsion from the Community. He summoned them all from Lahore but once again they begged for mercy, only to resume their activities yet again soon afterwards.

Khwaja Sahib's lectures

Kh. Kamal-ud-Din at this time was in Kashmir. After the discomfiture of January 31, 1909, he had been following a different course altogether. He had conceived a much better plan than the method followed by his friends and he had proceeded to put it into action. He began a series of lectures on Islam in various places always taking care to omit the name and the claims of the Promised Messiah, but drawing freely upon the storehouse of the rare knowledge of Islam made accessible to him through the Promised Messiah. These lectures were naturally appreciated by the Ahmady as well as the non-Ahmady public and he pushed himself to the forefront even more by himself writing eulogistic reports of these lectures and sending them to the press in the name of other people, or he got his friends to write such reports. He thus showed himself an admirable master of the art of self-advertisement.

As a result of this campaign, in the course of a year or two, he made a name for himself. There developed quite a demand for his lectures,

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which, so to say, set a pattern for other Ahmady lecturers to follow. Many people took his increasing popularity as a sign that the non-Ahmadies were rapidly coming nearer to Ahmadiyyat and from this mistaken view began to copy his method. Others followed him out of an unconscious desire to prove themselves no less successful. Tabligh of Ahmadiyyat, thus, came to a halt: the lecturers of the Community avoided it, and also members of the Community in their contacts with the non-Ahmadies. Led on by the mirage that the non-Ahmady Muslim world was on the point of large scale acceptance of Ahmadiyyat, the Community marched into the wilderness as Kh. Kamal-ud-Din cleverly led it towards a point of fusion with non-Ahmadyyat, and the realisation of his own ambition to be hailed as the greatest champion and exponent of Islam. The danger towards which the Community was marching, though unconsciously and in ignorance, was on that very account the greatest that so far had even risen in its path.

Deliverance, however, was at hand. The maturer minds in the Community, as observed already, were alarmed by the policy Kh. Kamal-ud-Din was pursuing as there was a deadly fallacy inherent in that policy. Numerically small communities could not merge into larger ones and keep their characteristic features intact. Nor could conversion to Ahmadiyyat take place without a rebirth attended by severe travails. Fundamental and revolutionary changes in beliefs, outlook, standards of conduct, and national characteristics, do not take place silently and quickly like clouds changing colour at sunset. If they take place in comparatively a short time, the new era takes birth only after the most severe labour pains: otherwise, if it comes silently, it comes slowly, during which time those who are bearers of the Truth have to exercise extreme care to preserve it from being debased through corruption of its repositories. But the desire to amalgamate with the non-Ahmadies on the part of Kh. Kamal-ud-Din was so over-

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whelming that he began to kick against those injunctions of the Promised Messiah which were calculated, in the vast mass of the non-Ahmady Muslim world, to preserve the separate entity of Ahmadiyyat, so that through being poured into a sea of soured milk the good milk too may not be spoiled. One of these injunctions (prohibition to pray behind a non-Ahmady Imam) Khwaja Sahib found very awkward. This prohibition tended to interfere seriously with his triumphant march to the leadership of the Muslim world through his reputation as a lecturer and the best exponent and spokesman of Islam. These lectures, attended by non-Ahmadies in thousands sometimes, usually were timed to start at the time of one of the daily prayers—either before it or immediately after. On these occasions, surrounded by people whose good will he valued so highly, he found it difficult to confess that Ahmadies were not permitted to pray behind a non-Ahmady Imam. When tackled on the point he began to say that the prohibition really applied to common Ahmadies only in whose case a danger could reasonably be apprehended of their being absorbed back into non-Ahmadiyyat. For men like himself, he said, the prohibition was unnecessary. On this and other similar pleas he set on foot an overt campaign to procure the repeal of this prohibition. But true to his policy of keeping himself in the brckground in such matters, he persuaded Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg to write two articles in *The Paisa Akhbar* and *The Watan* that the prohibition was a temporary measure.[1]

His clever brain had designed this move as the thin end of the wedge, but the consequence for his scheme was disastrous. Many Ahmadies now began to see that he was going too far.

In the matter of Tabligh-i-Ahmadiyyat, however his spell was cast over a large portion of the

1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, pages 239-40.

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Ahmadiyya Community; and even those who distrusted Khwaja Sahib's method were undergoing a peculiar probation. On the one hand, in their heart of hearts they were aware that if they persisted in this policy of avoiding an open mention of the Promised Messiah, the Movement would soon come to an end. On the other hand, after heir experiences of the practical success which attended the methods of Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, they felt afraid that the people would refuse to attend any lectures bearing on the distinctive claims of the Promised Messiah, or if they attended, the number would be small and would afford the rival party ground for claiming that theirs was the right method—it attracted people in larger numbers to hear their discourses, and helped to increase their acquaintance with Ahmadiyyat, and this acquaintance would lead them ultimately to join the Movement. People of the Jama'at were thus in a state of complete indecision, even while they disapproved of the methods of Khwaja Sahib, they thought that imitation of those methods was necessary for the success of their aim. They thought that if people in general could be brought to see that in the ranks of the Ahmadiyya Community there were persons better informed than Khwaja Sahib, then automatically their attention would be diverted from Khwaja Sahib, and it would then be time to acquaint them with the facts about Ahmadiyyat. They argued that for an exposure of Khwaja Sahib's methods it was necessary to employ Khwaja Sahib's own method."[1]

If, others, however, could not rise superior to those difficulties and dangers, Mian Mahmud, called الوالعزم in the prophecy of the Promised Messiah with regard to his birth, was made in a different mould. For him it was sufficient that in the course being persued there was danger of the central purpose of Ahmad's message being

1. *The Truth about the Split*, page 259.

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lost, and face to face with this danger he made a resolute stand, leaving the result to God. In 1912, when Hazrat Khalifatul Masih sent him no a tour to visit the various Arabic Madrisas in Northern India, he launched his frail bark and tied his sail. During this tour he utilized every conceivable opportunity to preach the claims and message of Ahmad, may peace and blessings of God be upon him.[1] So completely was the Jama'at overcome by the stupid torpor brought on by the pernicious drug administered by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din in a painless injection, which nobody knew when it was given, that letters of protest from some Ahmadies of the places he visited began to pour in upon Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. Mian Sahib was young, said these letters, and his way of saying things was raw and inexperienced. His lectures would raise a storm of opposition that might well prove fatal to the interests of the Community. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih read these letters and left them at that, setting, thus, the seed of approval upon the course which Mahmud was pursuing. In 1911 the Anjuman Ansarullah had already been formed with the main object, as we know, of rousing the Community from its torpor and to rekindle the fire for *tabligh*. As this Anjuman gained in strength, its activities were intensified.

We have noted that the conspiracy against Khilafat, after the set-back of January 1909, the defeat in the matter of Hakim Fazal Din's house, and Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's decision against the Lahore Group in connection with whispers they were setting afloat to discredit the Khalifa in the eyes of the Community—after these successive reverses the conspiracy had begun to bury itself out of sight so as to work more efficiently under cover. The whispers which drew the wrath of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih upon the conspirators was the first move in this direction, and when that

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, page 257.

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and the fundamental issue at stake took varying forms according to the policy or predilections of these friends.

Maulana Mohammad Ali was not primarily interested in the question of joining hands with the non-Ahmadies which with Kh. Kamal-ud-Din had become an obesssion. It was a different circumstance that tilted him in this direction. With Maulvi Mohammad Ali it was a question of the authority of the Anjuman over the Khalifa, or his own authority over everybody else as the Anjuman (or rather the Majlis Mo'tamadeen) of which he was the self-constituted champion, was a body of which he was the secretary, with a dominant clique of friends similarly minded at his back. He and Kh. Kamal-ud-Din both fell to working together against the authority of the Khalifa as that institution stood in their way to undisputed leadership of the Community. Kh. Kamal-ud-Din played his part with better diplomatic skill; moreover, when the death occurred of the Hazrat Khalifatul Mesih I., he was away in London, far from the scene where the issue was being decided: that is why in the episode his appears to be a secondary role. In reality he was the man who pulled the wires, though his superior skill, and the circumstance that when the issue rose to a crisis he was away in London, helped him, to a large extent, to keep himself in the back-ground.

Anjuman Ansarullah.

We shall come to these things, however, over the question of Khilafat. For the present we return to a few other things which need being set down before we come to that question. At this time we find Hazrat Mian Sahib in a position of great and peculiar difficulties. Gifted with an extraordinary solicitude for the welfare of the Ahmadiyya Community and its preservation on the path chalked out by the Promised Messiah, he began to

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was detected they moved themselves still more out of sight and took to making use of other men as tools. Two anonymous pamphlets were now distributed broadcast in the Community with wild and burning accusations against Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and those who were known to be ranged in support of Khilafat. This was an age of democracy, said these pamphlets, and true to the spirit of the age the Promised Messiah had left his sacred Will and Testament that after his death the Anjuman would have the final authority. Why talk of Khalifas then and of Khilafat, especially when the holder of the office had shown himself no better than a *Pir*. He was a *Ghair Mamur* (not divinely commissioned); he behaved arrogantly towards leading members of the Community; he treated them with indignity. Why should such things be allowed to be? Ahmadies had no respect for *Pirzadas* among non-Ahmadies; they had also better look to the *Pirzadas* in their own midst.

These pamphlets were published towards the middle of November 1913.

Now, who wrote these tracts? We do not know. But we know a number of other things. In the first place, these pamphlets upheld a point of view which formed the central plank in the campaign against Khilafat—the authority of the Anjuman, exactly the point for which Maulana Muhammadi Ali and his friends were fighting. Secondly they were distributed from Lahore where the conspiracy had its nest. Thirdly, they are known to have been distributed in printed wrappers of *The Paigham-i-Sulh*. Fourthly, two men on the editorial staff of this paper openly identified themselves, by means of a letter printed in the paper itself, with a number of the accusations contained in the tracts.[1]

It may be observed in passing that these two gentlemen were really very fair-minded. They

1. *The Paigham-i-Sulh*, November, 16, 1913.

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only supported those charges which they knew to be true. As for the other things of which they had no personal knowledge, of course they *did not know*.

The only difference between these pamphlets and the point of view held by the Lahore Group was that their language with regard to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was more insulting and vehement than was used by Maulvi Muhammad Ali and his friends in public. In their private conversations, however, they were not a bit behind the standard set by these tracts. For instance, this is what Sayed Muhammad Husain wrote to Sayed Mir Hamid Shah of Sialkot:—

1-10-1909.

"Respected brother Shah Sahib:.....Your favour to hand and all its news.....The news of the distressing occurrences at Qadian has perhaps already been communicated to you by Sheikh Sahib. The garden which our Holy Master had watered with the blood of his heart had scarcely begun to grow when it is in danger of being destroyed by autumnal winds. Maulvi Sahib (*i.e.*, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I.,) is so obstinately blind in his affections that he can hardly listen to any body. He has turned his back upon *Alwasiyyat* (the words of the Messiah's Will). He disregards the words of the Messenger of God, and keeps in view only his personal prestige and authority. The movement may come to grief, but the words which fall from his mouth must be fulfilled. The Movement founded by our Holy Master and which will expaned (?) and is certain to grow is, through the obstinacy of some men, is in danger of such a serious set-back that it will take a long time to recover. The wiser members of the Community are all occupied with their private concerns. With the death of Mirza Sahib (peace be on him), they have banished from their memories all recollections of his many benefits, his greatness and his will, and saint-worship, for the eradication of which the Movement was founded

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by God, is being introduced over again. The condition of the Movement is best described in the couplet:—

'Friendless has become the faith of Ahmad,
not a friend or dear one by:
With every one taken up with his own
affairs, the faith of Ahmad has none to
care.'

"There is nobody wbo will venture to ask: Well, brother, has *Alwasiyyat* any importance or not? It was written under divine inspiration. Was it meant to be thrown away? If one would venture to ask such a question, one is met with the threat of apostacy. God have mercy. The heart is disconsolate. News from Qadian is that the Maulvi says that in about ten days a bomb will explode which will ruin and crush the Movement. God have mercy. Is there no limit to pride and vain-glory? While there is so much of preaching about trusting one another there is no end to mistrust. Should the Movement come to ruin for the sake of a Shia? God have mercy. O God, we have sinned. Thou alone canst save us by Thy mercy and Grace. Take us under Thy spccial protection, and save us from these trials. What more should I write. The worst is happening. It is time that some special divine favour should appear and save this Movement founded by Himself, from the impending disaster. Amen! Salams to all brothers, and request for prayer."

And Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg wrote in a letter as follows:—

Respected brother.....At present we are in great anxiety over difficulties which have arisen in Qadian. The Khalifa's vacilation has exceeded all bounds. He is going shortly to publish a notice from which serious troubles are to be feared ..... If anybody exhibits the least difference of view with the Khalifa, it sends him into a great rage. .....The circumstances were all fully explained to him, but his fury failed to quell, and he is

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firmly resolved to publish a notice.....I ask you what more is there for us to do. His object is to do away with the Anjuman, and to see that there is not the least opposition to his opinions. But this is not the intention of the *Alwasiyyat*. It lays down that after the death of the Promised Messiah all should work by mutual consultation. Sheikh Sahib and Shah Sahib send salutations. They agree with what I have said above." [1]

It is to be noted that these letters, as here reproduced, were made public as far back (if not earlier) as the day when Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's book *Aeena-i-Sadaqat* was published, which was in 1918. But the authors thereof have never disowned them.

Under a mandate from Hazrat Khalifat-ul-Masih I, suitable to these tracts replies were published by theAnjuman Ansarullah.

So much for the anonymous tracts. Now let us proceed to what followed later. During the few months that now remained of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's life there was peace and quiet, but only outwardly. The secret springs of the conspiracy were exposed, and the agitators were whipped yet once again. During the episode of these tracts Hazrat Khalifatul Masih had once referred to *The Paigham-i-Sulh* as being really a *Paigham-i-Jung* (declaration of war) so that the Ahmadiyya Community in general was getting to know how matters stood between their Khalifa and certain elements in the Jama'at. Out of this knowledge, a feeling of disgust and indignation against these mechinations began to take birth, and the agitators thought it best to lie low for a time. In its own channels, however, the anti-Khilafat virus continued to run strong.

Early in 1914 Harzat Khalifatul Masih fell seriously ill—an illness from which he did not recover. By this time leaders of the agitation

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1. Both letters reproduced from *The Truth about the Split*, pages 286—89.

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had learnt the bitter lesson that no success was to be expected in a frontal attack upon Khilafat, and their cleverness, or simply the drift of circumstances, put another weapon in their hands, the cutting power of which they quickly realised. This weapon was the question known in these controversies as *Kufr-o-Islam*—the question whether those Muslims who had not accepted the Promised Messiah, were to be regarded as Muslims or not.

This question was a direct descendant of the situation created by Kh. Kamal-ul-Din's policy which was supported by the Lahore Group, and its organ *The Paigham-i-Sulh*. When Kh. Kamal-ul-Din went to England and began to angle wildly for non-Ahmady support for his mission, the question naturally assumed a concrete and a colossal shape. While imploring the Muslim members of the Woking Mosque Trust to allow him to be installed in that coveted place, and while making appeal after appeal for financial support from non-Ahmady Muslims, Kh. Kamal-ul-Din really could not afford to tell them that in so far as they had failed to recognise the Promised Messiah they had in reality turned false to the Holy Prophet Mohammad himself. In season and out of season he, perforce, had to declare, with added emphasis each time, that acceptance or denial of the claims of Ahmad was after all a minor matter : the main thing was the propagation of Islam in Europe and this task he had taken upon himself. It was the duty, therefore, of Muslims the world over to support him.

But these Muslims said to him : "Ah, yes ; that's all right." What you say is true, of course, as far as it goes, and we know your views are excellent. But what about the views of the Community to which you belong? Before we lend you our support we want to know that your Community too regards our unwillingness to recognise Ahmad as a minor matter ; or that at least, you are prepared to disown the views held by your Jama'at." The only reply Kh. Kamal-ud-Din

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could make to this demand was to reassure them again and again in regard to his own views, and to press these views through his friends at Qadian for public acceptance on the part of the Ahmadiyya Community.

The question in itself was quite simple. The Promised Messiah was sent by God as a Prophet; he was called by that name by God and by the Holy Prophet Mohammad. Now after recognising one Prophet, if you failed to recognise another, it could only mean that your first recognition, too, was not real recognition at all; it was recognition only in name: in fact it was no more than an accident of birth or a result of environment. When you recognised a piece of metal to be gold because you knew what gold was like and what qualities it possessed, and because you perceived these qualities in that piece of metal, you could not possibly go wrong when given another lump of gold to hold, or weigh, or judge in the light of any standard provided by Sceince and then to say what that metal was. Should you end by saying it was not gold, obiviously you did not really know what gold was. That was why the Holy Quran was so clear on the point that failure to recognise even one Prophet, in effect, was tantamount to a failure to recognise any of them at all. (The Holy Quran IV: 150-151.) That being so, the Islam of those Muslims who failed to accept the claims of Ahmad remained Islam only in name, and more especially so as the essential characteristics of a true Muslim were conspicuous among present-day Muslims only in their absence. This was the view held by the Promised Messiah and this was the view held by his disciples and by the Ahmadiyya Community.

The view was not very complimenatry to the non-Ahmadies, it is true, and that was why the Lahore Group, under the clever shepherding of Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, began to press for modification in it. When the question was forced to the front by Khwaja Sahib's campaign for non-

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Ahmady support, Maulvi Mohammad Ali saw its great possibilities as a tool to discredit the hated supporters of the authority of Khilafat.

Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, from England, had been pressing Hazrat Khalifatual Masih to permit him to offer his prayers behind non-Ahmady Imams. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, of course, was not prepared to do this, but Khwaja Sahib pressed and pressed till Ameerul Momineen saw that when he was so set upon the course, in the sight of God, who knew secrets of the heart, he was as good as guilty of the offence; and in view of the weakness displayed by Khwaja Sahib he ended by giving him the permission he was so keen on. And now that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih lay on his death-bed the question of *Kufr-o-Islam* began to be fully exploited by Kh. Kamal-ud-Din's friends. Maulvi Muhammad Ali in his *Split* has stated that he wrote a small pamphlet on *Kufr-o-Islam* which was read over to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and was approved by him. But in the first place there is no written testimony to support this statement. Secondly it is not understandble why he delayed publication of this pamphlet until the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih had taken place.

In any case there is evidence to show that this tract was not approved by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih:—

"Mian Abdul Haye, the eldest son of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was present at the reading. His report is that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih directed that the article should not be published just then, and even said that he had meant something quite different. But Abdul Haye was at the time very young. I do not, therefore, propose to make his statement the basis of my contenion. There is evidence in the article which proves that this article was disapproved by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih or it must have been altered after it was read out to him, or it was read out to him at a time when his

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attention was otherwise engaged and he could not attend to the article at all. The article contained many things which cannot be attributed even to a person of ordinary intelligence, much less to a person, well informed and learned as Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I."[1]

That this tract was not approved by Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., is further borne out by the testimony of Hazrat Hafiz Raushan Ali and Dr. Khalifa Rashid-ud-Din which is a follows:

"I remember that towards the close of his life, whlie Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was prostrate in his last illness, very likely sometime in the month of February 1914—he was still living in his own house in old Qadian—I was once sitting in the office of *The Alfazl* in company with Sahibzada Mirza Bashir-ul-Din Mahumd Ahmad, when there came to us my teacher Hafiz Ghulam Rasul Wazirabadi. He told us that M. Muhammad Ali had written an article on the subject of Kufr and Islam which he would read out to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih next Friday after the service, and that he intended to read it out in private. Upon this Sahibzada Sahib said that he too would be present at the reading, and that as the subject concerned an important question of belief we also should be present at the time. Accordingly, when Friday came, I resolved to visit the house of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih soon after the Jumma prayers, and so I did. When I reached the yard of the house, the following came out of the room of Hazrat Khalifatual Masih : (1) Maulvi Muhammad Ali, (2) Mirza Yaqub Beg, (3) Shaikh Rehmat Ullah and (4) Dr. Muhammad Husain Shah. At that time Maulvi Muhammad Ali held some papers folded in his hands. They inquired of me whether the Jumma prayers were over. I answered, 'Yes.' I felt sure that they had foregone the Jumma Prayers in

1. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II, in *The Truth about the Split*, p. 301.

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order to secure the desired privacy to read out the article to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. I also learnt that Dr. Khalifa Rashid-ud-Din had also been with them, but had left before my arrival. I then went over to the house of the Doctor for further enquiry and asked him whether they had attended the Jumma prayers. He said that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih had to be given a bath, so it was necessary for tne doctors to remain in attendance. I said, that Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Shaikh Rahmat Ullah were no doctors. Why then did they miss the Jumma prayers? To this, the Doctor replied that they had waited there to read out an article to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. I inquired 'And did they read out the same to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih?' The Doctor said, 'No, twice or thrice they asked leave to read, but Hazrat Khalifatul Masih declined saying he was going to rest. Thus they failed in the object for which they had foregone their Jumma prayers.' After this I came back to Sahibzada Sahib and related to him the whole story. Then I went back to the house of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and sat down determined not to leave the place till Maulvi Muhammad Ali had either read the article or returned home disappointed. Maulvi Muhammad Ali waited in house of Maulvi Sadr-ud-Din looking for the time when I should leave Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, while I looked for the time when Maulvi Muhammad Ali should read out his article to him. At length came the time for the Maghrib prayers. After the prayers I said to Sahibzada Sahib, 'Friday has passed and Maulvi Muhammad Ali has not read out his article to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih.' To this Sahibzada Sahib said, 'Well, when he is determined so far to keep it a secret and does not wish that we should know anything about it, it is better to leave him alone. How long can we keep watch over him? Let us instead pray to God and fast that these troubles and travails may be averted.' After this, we paid no further attention to Maulvi Muhammad Ali.

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The later, however, did not have the opportunity to read out his article either on Saturday or on Sunday or the day following. But the night following Sunday or, may be, the night following Monday, he made arrangements to prevent people from coming to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's house and had the opportunity to read out the article. He posted some Pathans to guard the doors of the house and told them it was the Khalifa's command that nobody should be allowed to enter in. At this time, Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib called to inquire about the health of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. The guards told him that nobody was permitted to enter. Similarly Sufi Maulvi Ghulam Muhammad, B.A. also came to inquire of his health. He also was sent back. Then came Dr. Khalifa Rashid-ud-Din. He too was stopped by the guards. But he said that he was a doctor and no body could prevent his entrance. He forcibly made his way in. Coming to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, he inquired of him whether he had given orders not to allow people to come in. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih replied that he had given no such orders. Dr. Khalifa Rashid-ud-Din subsequently said that at that time Maulvi Muhammad Ali was reading out his article to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. When he had finished, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih asked him whether he felt fully satisfied with the article. Maulvi Muhammad Ali said. 'Yes'. Thereupon, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih said that he himself was not satisfied with the article. Maulvi Muhammad Ali made several attempts to get Hazrat Khalifatul Masih to sign the article, but always remained unsuccesful."

Written on the 17th August, 1919, by Ata Muhammad, Assistant to Hafiz Raushen Ali Sahib.

"I attest that the above account has been dictated by me.

(Sd.) RAUSHEN ALI

"I attest the correctness of the account dictated by Hafiz Raushen Ali and state that it is all

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feel, as though by instinct, the dangers piling up fast on the horizon like dark and ominous clouds. The Tabligh of Ahmadiyyat was practically at a standstill. The Kamal-ud-Din—Mohammad Ali clique controlled the funds of the Community so that even Hazrat Khalifatul Mesih had to look to them when he wanted anything done—a point which shall be amply illustrated as this narration proceeds. As this clique was preparing the ground for a silent amalgamation with non-Ahmadies, Tabligh of Ahmadiyyat, obviously, was not among its plans. Here let us return for a moment to the day the Promised Messiah passed away. As we observed earlier, on that day Mian Mahmud had taken a silent but stupendous vow that even if the whole world forsook the Promised Messiah and forgot the purpose which it was his mission to fulfil, he, for one, would never forsake him or lose sight of that purpose. When these tendencies, of which we have been trying to pick up the thread, began to manifest themselves to his discerning eye, he must have been haunted by thoughts of the responsibility that devolved upon him from that vow, and his helplessness to do anything. But he was not made in a mould that throws up its hands in despair and sinks without striking a blow. Driven on by an inner fire that would not let him rest, he decided on a course of action which in its intrinsic possibilities was little better than a drowning man clutching at a straw. But God, who sees what is inside the heart rather than the volume of achievement, prospered the venture and it became the prelude to bigger and ever bigger things. In 1911 he started an association to which the name Anjuman Ansarullah was given.

The idea to form this Anjuman came to him on the basis of a dream which he dreamt, and it was formed after Hazrat Khalifatul Mesih I., had approved of the idea. Its membership was open to everybody, the only condition imposed being that one should apply for admission after performing *Istikhara* for seven days. Obligations which

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in accordance with facts and is quite accurate.

(Sd.) KHALIFA RASHID-UD-DIN,
Rtd. Civil Asst. Surgeon,
Physician in attendance on Hazrat
Khalifatul Masih I."

Attempts to deceive Hazrat Mian Sahib

An attempt on the part of Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg to use Hazrat Mian Sahib as a tool in the agitation against the Khalifa has already been referred to. When in 1910 Hazrat Khalifatul Masih fell ill and his condition for a time became grave, the worthy doctor, in company with some of his friends, made a second grave attempt to deceive Hazrat Mian Sahib which reveals a fearful psychological blunder on their part and supplies a clue to their own psychology. Writes Hazrat Khalifatul Masih II., in *The Truth about the Split*, pages 248—51.

"Towards the end of 1910, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I, fell from his horse, and for some days he remained in a very precarious condition. He told Mirza Yaqub Beg, his medical attendant at the time, that he was not afraid of death and that he wanted to know if his condition was really dangerous. For, in that case he would like to dictate some instructions. But these people feared it might be against their interest for Hazrat Khalifatul Masih to leave any iustructions. They, therefore, assured Hazrat Khalifatul Masih that his condition was not so dangerous, and that, if his con dition became critical they would give him timely intimation of it. But as soon as they departed from the presence of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih they held a consultation. At noon Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg came to me and asked me to proceed to Maulvi Muhammad Ali's house, as a consultation was to be held there. Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib had also been invited. When I reached there I found Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Maulvi Sadr-ud-Din, and one or

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two others. Khwaja Sahib opened the conversation. He said, 'We have called you because Maulvi Sahib (*i.e.*, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih) is very ill and weak. As we cannot stay on here—it being necessary for us to return to Lahore—we have been obliged to trouble you at this time, so that we may come to some understanding to avert trouble. We can assure you that none of us aspires to be Khalifa. At least I can assure you that I entertain no such aspiration and a similar assurance will be given to you by Maulvi Muhammad Ali. Here Maulvi Muhammad Ali interposed and gave a similar assurance on his part. Khwaja Sahib then continued: 'Nor do we find anybody better fitted for the Khilafat than you, and this is our considered opinion. But we would request you to do one thing. You should not let the question of Khilafat be decided so long as we do not arrive from Lahore. We are afraid lest some hasty person should precipitate trouble. It is essential that our arrival from Lahore should be waited.' To this Mir Sahib replied, 'Yes, it is necessary that some understanding should be reached to prevent trouble.' I, however, realised the gravity of the situation, and remembered at once the practice of the Companions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) who regarded it utterly improper in the lifetime of one Khalifa to discuss the selection of another, even if the selection were contingent upon the death of the living Khalifa. Accordingly I replied that it was a sin to discuss the selection of a successor to Khilafat while a Khalifa yet lived, and to decide that on the death of a living Khalifa a specific person should be appointed to succeed him and that therefore I considered it a sin to speak on the subject.

"Readers will note in this speech by Khwaja Sahib certain points, which are specially worthy of attention. Firstly, that only a few hours before, these people had assured Hazrat Khalifatul Masih that his condition gave no cause for anxiety and that there was no necessity for making a will and

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yet no sooner had they left his presence than they began to think of his successor. Secondly, that the speech assumed that while they had no desire for the office of Khalifa, I did have such a desire. I did not, however, think it necessary to enter into any discussion, because an important question of principle was involved, and the safeguarding of that principle was more important than anything else.

"As regards the disclaimer by Maulvi Mohammad Ali and Kh. Kamal-ud-Din of any desire on their part for the Khilafat, subsequent events prove that by such disclaimer they only meant that they had no deire for the title of Khalifa. For, it appears that in place of the old title of Khalifa, they have created the new title of President or Ameer which in practice is the same thing as Khalifa. The title is now held by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, while Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din subscribes himself as Khalifatul Masih, even though he does not fulfil a single requirement of that office. One might think that his friends in conferring upon him this title and he in accepting it, have been working out the secret design of God to expose to the world Khwaja Sahib's deep desire for the office of Khalifa, for in the absence of the actual office he was content to accept the bare title of Khalifa.

"Nor must it be forgotton that subsequent events have amply proved that the proposal made by Khwaja Sahib and his friends was intended merely as a blind. For, although it could not be clearly seen at that time, it is quite plain now that all the time they looked upon me as a bidder for the Khilafat, and wanted by their assurances to allay any suspicions – so that when time came and they should be present on the spot, they could adopt a line of action best suited to their purpose. For, if they were really in favour of my becoming a Khalifa there was certainly no reason for apprehending any trouble in case the election of Khalifa took place before their arrival on the spot. If in

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their opinion I was really the fittest person for the Khilafat, how could my election to that office become an occasion for trouble."

The third attempt to decieve Hazrat Mian Sahib was made by Maulvi Muhammad Ali himself. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's illness was getting more and more serious every day until the physicians in attendance advised that he should be moved into purer air outside the town; and for tnis purpose Khan Muhammad Ali Khan offered a part of his house situated out in the fields clear of the town. Hazrat Khalıfatul Masih was moved into this bunglow with a large garden but his condition showed no improvement. Hazrat Ameerul Momineen himself seems to have realised about this time that his end was drawing near. On February 4 he sent for writing materials and wrote his Will as follows with his own hands :—

"The undersigned, in full possession of his senses and consciousness, writes the following testament: *La Ilaha Illallah Muhammadur Rasulullah.* My children are young. I have no money in my house. God is their Protector. They should not be supported out of the funds for the orphans and the poor. Let a sum be advanced to them, to be repaid by those of my sons who are able, or from the proceeds of my books. My property should be constituted *Wakf* for the benefit of my children. My successor should be pious, popular, learned, virtuous, and should overlook the faults and short comings of the friends, both old and new of the Hazrat Sahib. I was well-wisher of them all. He too should remain their well-wisher. Lectures on the Quran and the Hadith should continue. Peace."

While Hazrat Khalifatul Masih lay in his last illness, unable to look after the Community, discussion on controversial points vaxed hot, and hotter everyday in Qadian. Hazrat Mian Sahib was greatly pained by this, and he considered this state of affairs dangerous for the Community. Impelled by these feelings he decided to

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make an attempt to persuade people to suspend those discussions until Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was restored to health. So he drew up a brief note as follows:—

"So long as Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I, was in sound health, there was no great harm in our discussion of controversial topics inasmuch as there was among us one who could restrain us in case we ever tended to overstep the limits, or in case there was apprehension of any disorder. But now that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I, is lying seriously ill, it is not proper that we should engage in discussions which might lead to any disorder. It is, therefore, necessary that until God is pleased to restore Hazrat Khalifatul Masih to health and strength, and enable him to keep an eye over our discussions we should neither write nor otherwise discuss questions in dispute so as to save the community from any sort of trouble." [1]

This note he sent to Maulvi Muhammad Ali with a request for his signature, too, thereon so that it may be issued in their joint names. But Maulvi Muhammad Ali declined to sign it. Such a public notice, he said, would not be in the interest of the Community: it would only proclaim to the world that the Ahmadiyya Community was torn by dissentions. The purpose of the note would be served better, he said, if they both spoke to the people, and he suggested that a meeting should be called for the purpose. Now the plea on which Maulvi Muhammad Ali declined to sign this note was rather absurd in view of the fact that the anonymous tracts scattered broadcast by elements ranged in opposition to the authority of the Khalifa had some months before made the dissentions public enough. Still, Mian Sahib gave up his own idea and fell in with the suggestion made by Maulvi Muhammad Ali. The Ahmady public of Qadian assembled at the Masjid-i-Nur, near Khan Muhammad Ali Khan's bunglow

1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, p. 313.

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where Hazrat Khalifatul Masih lay ill. In the meeting Maulvi Muhammad Ali expressed a wish that Hazrat Mian Sahib should speak first. He complied and expressed himself, in substance, to the same effect as he had done in the note he had drawn up. But when Maulvi Muhammad Ali rose to his feet, instead of speaking on the need of unity, he " started raking up the past ".[1]

He went on to rebuke the Jama'at for attacks upon Khwaja Sahib and his friends, and indulged in similar other recriminations.

Obviously this was rank infidelity on his part to his own pledged word. The meeting had been called for the express purpose of impressing upon the members of the Community the need to suspend discussion on controversial points in view of the serious illness of Hazrat Ameerul Momineen. When suggesting that a meeting be called for the purpose he had undertaken to speak to the people to that effect. But what did he do? He got Hazrat Mian Sahib to hold a meeting but when he spoke, instead of pouring oil on troubled waters, he only added fuel to fire. Towards the end he made a few remarks about unity but even then his tone and expression was incisive and provocative. In fact it could scarcely have been bettered had he wanted to aggravate with the trouble.

However, to return to Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, it was now clear that his end was near. During his illness Hazrat Ameerul Mominee had appointed Hazrat Mian Sahib to lead the five daily prayers in the Masjid-i-Mubarak as well as the Friday service in Masjid-i-Aqsa. On Friday, April 13, Hazrat Mian Sahib went for some minutes, after the service, to his house, it being adjacent to the Mosque. But not many minutes had passed when an urgent message reached him from Khan Muhammad Ali Khan that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's condition was most alarming

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, p. 315.

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and that he was waiting outside with his carriage. Immediately Hazrat Mian Sahib came out and stepped into the waiting coach which set out at once. But he was not destined again to see Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., alive. While the coach was still on its way, another messenger met it with the staggering news that the venerable and beloved leader, who had laboured so patiently to guard the Community from dangers that were hemming it in, had passed away just when the clouds overhead were charged with thunder and the storm was about to break in all its furry.

Telegrams were despatched at once to various centres of the movement in India and the Jama'at at Qadian engaged itself in prayer to Almighty God for help in the coming crisis. At the time of Asar the greater part of the Qadian Ahmadies was present in Masjid-i-Nur and Hazrat Mian Sahib utilized the opportunity to draw their attention to the responsibility that devolved upon them.

Conversation with M. Muhammad Ali

After his short but moving speech a silent prayer was offered by all together and the people dispersed. As Hazrat Mian Sahib was leaving the mosque, Maulvi Muhammad Ali expressed a desire to have a word with him and the two walked away together.[1]

Maulvi Muhammad Ali said that things done after proper consideration were always done besty They should not do anything in haste and theis should proceed only after full consideration. Thy was as it should be and Hazrat Mian Sahib readile agreed with this view. But this was not all : ther. was more in Maulvi Muhammad Ali's mind. When Mian Sahib said that most people of influence in the Ahmadiyya Community were within easy distance from Qadian and they would most likely arrive by next day when a consultation could be held,

1. *The Truth about the Split*, pp. 320—23.

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Maulvi Muhammad Ali at once interposed. "No, it would not be right to be in such haste," he said. "As now there is disagreement, it is necessary that the whole question be thoroughly discussed and then an agreed decision reached and acted upon. The Community should have at least four or five months to think and exchange views on the matter, and only then should action be taken on any decision that may be reached."

To leave the Community leaderless for four or five months at such a juncture was, however, a preposterous idea. Hazrat Mian Sahib therefore answered he could not agree on the point, and he stated his reasons why he could not agree. But Maulvi Muhammad Ali insisted on his view. There were differences, he said, which could not be composed in a hurry. Anyway, what was the harm in waiting? "If there is no Khalifa, what difference will it make?" he asked. Hazrat Mian Sahib urged that following the death of the Promised Messiah the Community by a united verdict had instituted Khalifat, so the question could not be opened again whether there should or should not be a Khalifa. No consultation was needed on that point. The question to be deliberated upon was the election of the next Khalifa, and this question could not be left over a moment longer than was absolutely necessary. The point deserving consideration was: who should be put into the position vacated by the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih? "Here lies the difficulty", Maulvi Muhammad Ali answered. "As there are differences over doctrine, there would be differences over the election of a Khalifa. How can we pledge *Bai'at* to one whose doctrines we disapprove".

Here was the latest salient created by those who were fighting against the institution of Khilafat. We find differences over doctrine here made for the first time into a plank in the campaing against Khilafat. Formerly it was only that the *Alwasiyyat* gave the final and supreme authority

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to the Anjuman. But that guile had not worked, and here was a weapon only lately discovered. It did not look as though it could break in their hands as the other had done. *Kufro-Islam* and the *nabuwwat* of the Promised Messiah—rather *Kufro-Islam* alone as yet, for the question of *nabuwwat* emerges in force later still in the fight.

Hazat Mian Sahib urged that the differences in doctrine were not of a nature to preclude the *Bai'at* of the exponents of one view at the hand of a supporter of the opposite view. (Those differences as yet had not had time to assume the proportions which they did later). He added that "He could say on his own behalf, and of those who thought with him, that they were prepared to take *Bai'at* at the hand of one belonging to Maulvi Muhammad Ali's party.[1]

Thus Hazrat Mian Sahib urged and urged, but urged in vain. "It is a difficult matter," Maulvi Muhammad Ali answered. "You had better think and take counsel. To-morrow again we will talk over the matter."

This was the end of the memorable conversation, and any comment on it is superfluous because what the two leaders said speaks for itself. Maulvi Muhammad Ali's demand for at least "four or five months" to think matters over was of course absurd in the extreme. A boat without a rudder or without a man at the helm could keep no course: it certainly could not be expected to carry voyagers across the limitless, seathing waters of a tempestuous sea. And a leaderless Community fared even worse, especially when its members were exposed to a number of influences pulling them in so many different directions. But, as later events have borne out, this was exactly what Maulvi Muhammad Ali was playing for; and no doubt he played his hand extremely well. His engaging demand was

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1. Hazrat Mian sahib in apprehension of a possible split, had discussed the matter with his friends on the eve of the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih and had brought them round to his view. See *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, pages 316-17.

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made with a simplicity and *naïvety* that does him credit. Only he made the mistake of pitching it too high. He also miscalculated the time required to wreck a community by leaving its leadership undecided when a hundred other matters of life and death, were lay open as live and hot issues for discussion. Four or five months were not necessary at all. Four or five weeks would have given him ample time to put an end to Khilafat: even one weak would have been enough, perhaps. Once allowed to lapse, it was not an institution that could again be revived at will.

But fortunately for the Ahmadiyya Community, Hazrat Mian Sahib well realised the deadly nature of this innocent demand. He called a meeting of his friends and acquainted them with what had transpired between him and Maulvi Muhammad Ali. They all held that in view of the teachings of Islam Khilafat was indispensable; that they were not prepared to entertain the idea that they should have no Khalifa at all even for a short period. "The opposite side", they urged, "had already pledged *Bai'at* once to one Khalifa, and this proved that such pledging even according to them, was at least permissible, and not a sin. With us, on the other hand, not to enter into *Bai'at* and thus to give up Khilafat itself is a sin. If the opposite party is so insistent upon rejecting that which they regard as permissible how can they expect us to surrender a point and principle that we regard as quite indispensable?"[1]

Maulvi Muhammad Ali's Tract

The night between the 13th and 14th of March was spent by the majority of Ahmadies in Qadian in vigil and prayer for guidance in the critical situation with which the Community was now face to face. Early on the morning of the 14th, in fact, earlier than the earliest dawn, at

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, pages 223-24.

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membership imposed were : to strive for tabligh-i-Islam ; to try to carry the message of Ahmadiyyat to the world ; to study the Holy Quran deeply and intensively ; regularity in Tahajjud (prayer before dawn) ; endeavour to compromise any differences arising between Ahmadies in the course of social contacts ; and loyalty to the Government.[1]

These were very laudable aims, and there was nothing either in the conception or execution of the idea to which objection could be taken. Nevertheless, the Anjuman was frowned upon by certain people from the very outset. A barrage of criticism was directed against it. To begin with, its name was ridiculous, it was meaningless ; it was, in fact, much worse : it was mischievous and a libel against Ahmadies who were not members but who, nevertheless, were better *ansar* (helpers of the cause of Islam) than the members of this new fledged Anjuman. One man from Sialkot actually wrote to Hazrat Mian Sahib that he had set up this Anjuman in rivalry to Khwaja Sahib. Others went a step further and said that its originator was only sowing a crop of dissentions. And so on. These sweet voices babbled endlessly. Before long it began to be whispered in select circles that the Anjuman was but a conspiracy hatched by Mian Mahmud to encompass his own election to Khilafat, and soon afterwards this preposterous accusation was flung about openly. When the crisis developed over Khilafat, it became one of the main items in the indictment against him.

It is not necessary here to attempt a serious refutation of this criticism because it is palpably absurd. As Hazrat Mian Sahib wrote in the article referred to, when a man named his son Mohammad, did it mean that he took all others to be no better than Abu Jahl ? As for creating a separate Anjuman, Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I.,

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1. Article on Ansarallah, by Hazrat Mian Sahib, *The Alfazl*, July, 23, 1913.

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about 2 a. m., a bombshell exploded in the midst of the Jama'at already stupified by the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. Hazrat Mian Sahib was performing وضو (ablution) before standing in *Tahajjud* prayers, when some one put into his hand a tract which bore the heading: "A most important Announcement," with a request underneath that those whom it may reach should read it carefully from beginning to end and then pass it on to others. This tract was from Maulvi Muhammad Ali, who only a few days ago had declined to publish a joint note with Mian Sahib on the plea that it would only make the dissentions in the Ahmadiyya Community known to the outside world.

What was the intention of this tract? Let us have Maulvi Muhommad Ali's own words:—

1. Such people as have already entered the Ahmadiyya Jama'at, do not need to take *Bai'at* again and again at the hand of anybody.

2 *The Majlis Motamadeen Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya* was established by the Promised Messiah with his own hands and in his last Will and Testament he gave to it the position of his *Janasheen* (successor). But there were those who were plotting to deprive it of this lawful authority and to make it subordinate to the Khalifa. Should an attempt be made by these elements in the Community to put their ideas into effect, the Community should make a resolute stand; otherwise the Ahmadiyya Movement would, by this attack, be shaken to its foundations, and the tree planted by the promised Messiah with his own hands would be uprooted and thrown. Such attempts were made by these elements in the time of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih but he saw through the moves and did not accept these views.

3. After a parenthetical sort of dissertation on the question of *Kufro-Islam* the tract again reverted to its original purpose that the Anjuman was the rightful successor of the Promised Messiah.

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This was proclaiming the dissentions of the Ahmadiyya Community to the outside world with a vengence, indeed a thing which Maulvi Muhammad Ali had said earlier he was not prepared to do.

When was the Tract Written?

This question can be answered practically with perfect certainty. Hazrat Khalifatul Masih breathed his last about three in the afternoon on Friday, March 13, and the printed tract was in the hands of people as they began to arrive in Qadian with a view to taking part in the necessary deliberations. Now, had the tract been written by Maulvi Muhammad Ali after the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, it couldn't have had time to get to Lahore, get printed there and be in the hands of people on the night between the 13th and 14th. In fact, in Lahore the tract came out as soon as a telegram from Qadian had reached there that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih had passed away. The conclusion therefore is inevitable that it was written while Hazrat Khalifatul Masih was still alive, but when his condition had become so critical as to preclude any hope of recovery. Most probably when he wrote the tract Maulvi Muhammad Ali had Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's Will before him—in mind, if not on paper—and this it was that he was proceeding to demolish. The Will was written on March 4 and Hazrat Khalifatul Masih had made Maulvi Muhammad Ali read it not once but three times, and then had asked him if it was all right and correct. Maulvi Muhammad Ali had answered that it was. But it seems even at that time his mind was busy devising a scheme how to make it of no effect at all, although, by expressing agreement, he had pledged himself to his dying leader and benefactor to honour it and to uphold it.

That Will took it as a foregone conclusion that a *Janasheen* (successor) would be put in the position he had occupied in the Community and

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laid down the qualifications necessary to be found in that *Janasheen*. It also gave some general instructions to be kept in view by him. "My successor", it said, "should be pious, popular, learned, and virtuous and should overlook the faults of the friends, both old and new of Hazrat Sahib (The Promised Messiah). But how did Maulvi Muhammad Ali proceed to carry out this Will? He went home and sat down to write a tract designed to sow broadcast in the Community the idea that there was no need to have a Khalifa at all: that the Anjuman was the true *Janasheen* of the Promised Messiah.

It is difficult to imagine a greater betrayal of a religious leader at the hand of a disciple.

Maulvi Mohammad Ali cannot plead that when he wrote this tract he was not aware that Hazrat Khalifatul Masih had made a Will that his *Janasheen* should be appointed because, if that was the case, he had ample time to withhold publication, or to withdraw it in any case if it had gone out. But it did not go out until after the news of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih's death had been made known. Instead of being withheld or withdrawn it was deliberately kept ready with all arrangements made for instant distribution the moment Hazrat Amirul Momineen passed away.

Maulvi Mohammad Ali wanted to have four or five months for the Community to decide what should be done after the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih. Now that we know that at the very moment he was making this naïve demand, he was scattering an idea all round on the wind which required time to soak into the mind of the Community, his demand seems natural enough. What surprises one is the duplicity and the artifice he employed. If he wanted to deny the necessity of Khilafat, why did he not do so in a straight-forward manner and leave the result to God? Why did he not say frankly, like an honest man, that he had written a tract which was being distributed and that he stood by the views expressed therein.

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Maulvi Mohammad Ali based his idea on the *Alwasiyyat* but evidently it denoted a new interpretation of the *Alwasiyyat* on his part—new in the sense that when the Promised Messiah died and Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din was elected Khalifatul Masih he and his friends had interpreted the same *Alwasiyyat* to mean that the election of a Khalifa was clearly indicated in it. The following was the advice tendered to the Ahmadiyya Community by Maulvi Mohammad Ali and his friends on that occasion :

" Agreeably to the *Commands* of the Promised Messiah (peace and blessings of God be upon him) contained in the book *Alwasiyyat*, we Ahmadies, whose signatures are appended below, with perfect sincerity of heart agree that all the present members of the Ahmadi Jamaat, as well as those who in future may seek admission into it, should in the name of Ahmad pledge their *Bai'at* on the hand of Hazrat Haji Maulvi Hakim Nur-ud Din Sahib, the first of the Mahajireen, the most eminent amongst us in learning and piety, and the loyalest and oldest companion of our Imam, one whose example was held before us, as in the couplet : 'How well had it been if every one of the Community had been a Nur-ud-Din. So would it have been indeed, had every heart been filled with Nur (light) of certainty.' *The Commands of Hazrat Maulvi Sahib, in future, should be for us as the Commands of the Promised Messiah and Mehdi* on whom be peace)." [1]

This advice was published in the *Badr* of June 2, 1908, under the signatures of a large number of men, Maulvi Mohammad Ali included among them. Here we have the *Alwasiyyat* interpreted to *command* the institution of Khilafat.

This announcement was followed by another in the same issue of that paper immediately after *Bai'at* Khilafat had taken place at Qadian :

" Before the funeral prayers of the Promised

1. *The Truth about the Split*, p. 341, (Italics mine—Author).

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Messiah (on whom be peace) were held at Qadian, and in accordance with the instructions contained in the book *Alwasiyyat*.....Hakim Nur-ud-Din was proclaimed the Promised Masih's Successor and Khalifa, and the oath of Bai'at taken at his hand.....This announcement is being addressed as information to all members of the Movement, so that on reading it they should all, in person or through letter, present themselves at once to Hazrat Hakim-ul-Ummat Khalifatul Messiah wal-Mahdi and taken the oath of *Ba'iat*."[1]

Evidently, then, there is nothing in the plea that the *Alwasiyyat* precluded Khilafat. It did not; and Maulvi Mohammad, too, knew well that it did not. Only there was nothing else to be done. He had his own ideas as to who should be the leader of the Community and his plan was to put himself in a supreme position from the moment of the Promised Messiah death. But his friends—notably Kh. Kamal-ud-Din, on Maulvi Mohammad Ali's own admission—dissuaded him from that course on the ground that they had no chance against the overwhelming weight of opinion in favour of Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din. So he tucked his ambitions well out of sight in his heart and decided to wait. But he could not possess his soul in patience; time after time during the life of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., the hidden motive showed itself in his actions and the clever manœuvres he set on foot to buttress his position in anticipation of the *coupe* he was contemplating. These manœuvres, however, had quite the opposite result: they only served to show to the Jama'at what lay in his mind, so that, as the life of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih I., drew to its close, the issue had become clear cut and defined. All the cards had now to put on the table for it was evident that if the coming opportunity was missed once again the long awaited day might never come.

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1. From *The Truth about the Split*, p. 342.

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So there was no more time to be lost: what did it matter if Hazrat Khalifatul Masih lay on his death bed? what did it matter if he had made a Will directing the Jamma'at to elect a Khalifa to succeed him? This Khilafat business had to be stopped. There was a passage in the *Alwasiyyat* on which he could take his stand: had he had his way he would really have taken that stand long ago. It was no use waiting day after day for better opportunities which never came. What greater opportunity could there be than the moment when the old leader lay dying and the Community was shaken to its roots by conflicting opinions. Now was the time to strike openly and hard.

In this desperate mood Maulvi Mohammad Ali forgot all about his pledge to receive the commands of Hazrat Maulvi Nur-ud-Din as though they were the commands of the Promised Messiah himself. Maulvi Nur-ud-Din directed that the Jama'at should elect his *janashen* but Maulvi Mohammad Ali sat down to write his "Most Important Announcement," that all this talk about Khalifas and *janasheens* was so much breath waisted; the *janasheen* of the Promised Messiah was the Anjuman.

Now let us see what was happening elsewhere in Qadian at this time. All through Saturday Ahmadies continued to pour into the headquarters of the movement, full of sorrow, with anxiety knawing at their hearts. By the time of *Zuhr* prayer more than a thousand people had assembled in Qadian.

After *Zuhr* prayer Hazrat Mian Sahib held a private meeting of the members of the Promised Messiah's family. He explained to them the danger of schism that lay ahead and impressed upon them the need to avoid this schism at all *possible* cost. The only point that they could not surrender was Khilafat; a Khalifa had to be elected, but he advised that once that point was conceded, they should not create any difficulty on the question of the person to be elected. As there

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was difference of opinion in the Jama'at on important questions of doctrine, the best course was a general plebiscite, failing which the next best thing would be to have a man for Khalifa whose own views were neutral. But should the opposite party not consent even to that, then they should go the whole length to avoid a split and accept for Khalifa a member of the opposite party itself. After the question of Khilafat the important point, he said, was to save the community from division.

Hazrat Mian Sahib put his case so well, and there was such effect in his words proceeding from deep down in his heart that all members of the Promised Messiah's family accepted his point of view.[1]

Meanwhile, having realised that it was now a question of an open struggle between the supporters of Khilafat and those who wanted to do away with it altogether, some Ahmadies began to take signatures of those who were for Khilafat so as to gauge the strength of the two opinions on some definite and tangible basis. More than ninety per cent. of the people assembled in Qadian were found to be in favour of Khilafat.

This move, open, honourable and honest, was decried by the Lahore Group as a conspiracy, but the charge is really too amusing for words. The Lahore Group may try to thwart the authority of the Khalifa and to undermine it; that was not conspiracy. Highly pernicious and anonymous tracts may be secretly distributed in the community—that too was not conspiracy. A silent and sustained attempt may be made to turn the Jama'at from the central purpose of the movement, but that was not conspiracy either. A rebellious view against Khilafat may be expressed in a tract while the Khalifa lay dying and the tract kept ready for instant distribution the moment he passed away—no, this too was not a conspiracy.

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, second edition, pp. 337-38. Also see Hazrat Maulvi Sher Ali's testimony on the point in the *Alfazl* of March 30, 1914.

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But should the supporters of Khilafat proceed openly to ascertain the views of the public on that question, why, that was conspiracy, of course.

In this respect the Lahore Group pursued tactics very similar to those being pursued by many prominent political leaders of Hindu India and even by the Congress itself. They carry on in a manner that is detrimental to Muslim interests, but if the unfortunate Muslims raise a voice in protest they are vociferously condemned as rank communalists. In much the same manner the Lahore Group did its best to do things in its own sweet way that was not the way of the Jama'at at all. But when any one ventured to protest, there went up the cry of "conspiracy" in a chorus.

Anyway, on the afternoon of the 14th Maulvi Mohammad Ali sent a note to Hazrat Mian Sahib saying that he desired an opportunity to continue the conversation left unconcluded the day before, and Hazrat Mian Sahib replied that he would be glad to see him at his (Mian Sahib's) place. Accordingly Maulvi Muhammad Ali arrived, accompanied by some of his friends. On Hazrat Mian Sahib's side there were present Khan Mohammad Ali Khan, Moulvi Syed Mohammad Ahsan and Dr. Khalifa Rashid-ud-Din. The conversation, no sooner than it began, was bogged in the demand on the part of Maulvi Mohammad Ali that nothing should be done in haste and that enough time should be given to the community to think well over the matter and arrive at some unanimous conclusion. In vain it was urged by Hazrat Mian Sahib that there was no guarantee that, if given time, a unanimous decision would evolve. What would happen, he asked, if the position at the end of the time allowed remain unaltered? A clear-cut decision, therefore, was unavoidable and the sooner it was taken the better it would be. But it did not suit Maulvi Mohammad Ali and his friends to recognise the sane practical logic of this view, and the discussion threatened to go on endlessly for ever.

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Time, meanwhile, flew; and the expectant crowds outside began to be impatient. They waited for a reasonable length of time, desirous that the momentous conversation should yield some workable basis of agreement. When they perceived, however, that their waiting and their hoping was in vain, they pressed round the door behind which the discussion was proceeding, and at last there was so much excitement that there was danger of the door being burst open. The people urged that while the discussion went on and on, the community was without a leader and that state was intolerable to them.

Evidently, if the conversation would not yield any result it had to be ended. Hazrat Mian Sahib suggested at this stage that they should go and consult the people assembled outside. When Maulvi Mohammad Ali heard this suggestion he could not keep to himself what was in his mind. "You say so because you know whom they would elect," he burst out. "Not so," replied Hazrat Mian Sahib, "I have already decided to pledge my *Bai'at* to some one of your party". But Maulvi Mohammad Ali only repeated: "No, no; you know what they would do."

Here, then, was the cat clean out the bag at last. All their talk and all their arguments were only so much beating about the bush: the crux of the whole situation was that the Lahore Group had felt all along in its bones that Mian Mahmud was going to be elected, and they were not prepared to submit to the authority of the 'stripling.'

The time for *Asr* prayer had come and the discussion, purforce had to stop. After the service, Khan Mohammad Ali Khan, as executor of the Will of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, read out that Will to the people; and in accordance with its terms, asked them to choose a successor. Hazrat Mian Sahib's name was suggested by some and Maulvi Mohammad Ahsan supported the proposal with great warmth. Then a general cry arose that *Bai'at* should be taken, but Hazrat

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Mian Sahib held back when pressed, he pleaded that he did not remember the words in which *Bai'at* had to be taken. The pressure of the general demand, however, became irresistable. People began to leap ahead of each other in their eagerness for *Bai'at*. Hazrat Mian Sahib was swallowed up in a circle pressing closer and closer until there was danger that he would be crushed and those nearest to him had to make a cordon round him. Hazrat Maulvi Sarwar Shah implored that *Bai'at* be taken and he offered to repeat the words of *Bai'at* for Hazrat Mian Sahib. Thus forced to perceive that this was clearly the ***doing of God, and no work of man***, Hazrat Mian Sahib yielded at last and submitted himself to the Divine Purpose.

"I accepted *Bai'at* from the people" he writes, "and in spite of my reluctance it all came to pass as it had been decreed from the beginning."[1]

Out of about 2,000 people only about 50 held back, but all the rest took bai'at.

Thus was completed at Qadian the last act of this momentous drama, but its epilogue continues still, though gradually it is trailing off into silence. The rest of the Jama'at outside Qadian, as it recovered from the shock of the death of Hazrat Khalifatul Masih, began to pour in for *Bai'at*, many coming personally and many, many more through letters so that those who rather fancied themselves as leaders have been left without a following. They console themselves, however, with self-made titles such as Ameer and so on, although there is none to obey their orders. For those who accept them as Ameer have their own ideas on what is due from them to an Ameer.

Maulvi Mohammad Ali left Qadian after a few days. When asked at the time he answered he was going only for a short period, but whether he really meant that or not, the fact remains that he never returned.

Had the Lahoris continued their headquarter at

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1. *The Truth about the Split*, p. 344.

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had once created a society of which the condition for admission was that the candidate undertook not to indulge in suspicions with regard to his brethren. This was in the time of the Promised Messiah. Even then it was urged by some that to permit such an association to be formed would mean by implication that those who did not join it, were prone to indulge in بدظنی But the Promised Messiah approved of the idea and permitted the Anjuman to be formed. Besides, when the Holy Prophet gave to the Muslims of Medina the title of *Ansar*, was it his intention to imply that Muslims living out of Medina were only enemies of God?

Hazrat Mian Sahib's plan of work for the Anjuman Ansarullah, in addition to creating an organisation for Islamic missionary work abroad, embraced the following items[1]:—

1. In view of the general sloth and inactivity in the Community, to rouse by means of a series of ectures those who were sinking into sleep.
2. To publish tracts with the same end in view.
3. To send workers into different towns to stay there for periods long enough to create an impression.
4. To appoint touring واعظین to inspire the Community.

"The Alfazl:"

It was observed that the more discerning element in the Community felt uneasy over the policy that was coming to be followed more and more every day by those who were in a position virtually to control the programme of the Community. But scattered all over India, they were helpless. Anjuman Ansarullah, however, gave them a rallying point; a common

1. *The Alfazl*, July 30, 1913.

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Qadian, even though they were reduced to a hopeless minority, they could have given us serious trouble, and it passes comprehension why they made that colosal mistake. But no, *they* made no mistake; they were ejected from that sacred city by the same Hand that had enthroned Mian Mahmud there.

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